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THE TABAKAT-I-AKBARI
(OR A HISTORY OF INDIA FROM THE EARLY MUSALMAN
INVASIONS TO THE THIRTY-SIXTH YEAR
OF THE REIGN OF AKBAR)

OF
KHWAJAH NIZAMUDDIN AHMAD



TRANSLATED BY
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PREFACE.

This is a translation of the *Tabaḳāt-i-Ākbari*, of which I have attempted to make out a correct text, by collating the lithographed Edition published from the press of Munshi Newal Kishore of Lucknow, and three manuscripts, two of which were obtained from the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the third from the Palace Library of the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad. I have referred to the two former as MS. A and MS. C and to the latter as MS. B. The lithographed edition and the MSS. vary in many places. I have adopted the readings which appeared to me to be the most correct.

B. DE.

CALCUTTA :

22nd July, 1911.

INTRODUCTION.

The sublimest praise is due to that true King who has placed the making and unmaking of the government of the world, and the regulation of the affairs of the human race, in the noble existence of just rulers and wise administrators; and has treasured and entrusted the task of maintaining and enforcing the laws of religion and government in the greatness and grace, the generosity and sternness, and the mercy and wrath of these great men. And may prayers high as the throne of God rest on the leaders of the Caravans that follow the straight path, and guide the foolish wanderers in the darkness of infidelity to the brilliant spaces of truth, and lead those who wander in the wilderness of confusion to the haven of fulfilment, by the aid of the glory of the Divine light and the help of the refulgence of the Divine nature; and specially on that most perfect specimen of creation, and that final embodiment of Divine aid and inspiration, whose sublime nature is a part of the Divine light, and whose noble essence a portion of God's holiness; of whose light the earth and the sky are a shadow, and of whose essence all space and creation a reflection; and [may similar prayers rest] on those who travel along the highway of his will, and following him step by step reach the vantage ground of union.

But, after that, this insignificant particle—Nizāmuddīn Āḥmad, the son of Muhammad Muḥim the Harawī, who is a humble dependent and a faithful adherent of the sublime Court of the great Emperor, the Sultan of the Sultans of the world, the beneficent shadow of God, the vicegerent of the Omnipotent, the strengthener of the pillars of world-conquest, the founder of the rules for governing the world, the ruler of the world and of all who inhabit it, the lord of all time and of all that exists in it, the embodiment of Divine secrets, the personification of spiritual essences, the most potent conqueror and the most successful ruler, the lion in the wilderness of political and religious warfare Abūl Fateḥ Jalāluddīn Muhammad Ākbar Bādshāḥ Ghāzī; may God perpetuate his dominion and empire, and fill the table of his justice and benefaction!—


parcel of his dominions, and it is hoped, that the seven climes would become the abode of peace and quiet under the shadow of His Majesty's auspicious standard, it came to the dull understanding of the author, that he should, with the pen of truth and candour, write a comprehensive history which should present in a clear style, in its different sections, an account of the Empire of Hindustan from the time of Sabuktigīn which began with the year 367 ¹ A.H., when Islam first appeared in the country of Hindustan, to the year 1001 ² A.H., corresponding with the thirty-seventh year of the Divine era, which was inaugurated at the epoch-making accession of His Majesty, the vicegerent of God; and should embellish the end of each section with the story of the victories of His Majesty's glorious army, which is as it were an introduction to the sublime chronicle of renown; then he should give a comprehensive account of all the victories and events and occurrences of His Majesty's reign each in its own place. The details of these events are contained in the great history called the *Ākbar-nāmah*, which that embodiment of all excellence, the learned in all truths and knowledge, the personification of worldly and spiritual perfection, the favoured of his Majesty the Emperor, the most crude Sheikh Abul Fazl who is the preface of all excellence and eminence has written with his wonder-inscribing pen, and has made a chronicle for all times.

The names of the Historical works which have been referred to in the compilation of this work are the *Tārīkh-i-Yemīnī*, the *Tārīkh-i-Zain-ul-Akhbār*, the *Rauzat-us-ṣafa*, the *Tāj-ul-māāsir*, the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, the *Khazāin-ul-Fatuh*, the *Tughlaknāmah*, the *Tārīkh-i-Firozshāhi* of Zīā Barnī, the *Fatuhāt-i-Firozshāhī*, the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, the *Tārīkh-i-Fatuh-i-Salātin*, the *Ma'asir-Muhammad-Shāhi-Gujarāti*, the *Tārīkh-i-Mahmūd-Shāhi-Māndvi*, the *Tārīkh-i-Mahmūd-Shāhi-Khurd-Māndvi*, the *Tabaqāt-i-Mahmud-Shāhi-Gujarāti*, the *Tārīkh-i-Bahādur-Shāhi*, the *Tārīkh-i-*

¹ Sabuktigīn became chief of Ghaznin in this year 367 A.H. corresponding with A.D. 977, but he did not begin to invade Hindustan till ten years afterwards, A.D. 986-987.

² So in MSS. A and C and in the lithographed edition, MS. B gives the year 1002 A.H.

(5) the section about Jounpore where there were five Kings during a period of ninety-seven years; (6) the section about Mālwah in which there were twelve Kings during a period of one hundred and fifty-eight years; (7) the section about Kashmir with twenty-six Kings during a period of two hundred and forty-five years; (8) the section about Sind with twenty-one Kings during a period of two hundred and thirty-six years; and (9) the section about Multān where there were five Kings during a period of eighty years. The concluding section will contain a description of certain peculiarities about Hindustan and various miscellaneous matters.



THE INTRODUCTORY SECTION: CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF
THE KINGS OF GHAZNIN.¹

The Kings were—

1. Sultan Nāsiruddīn Sabuktigin, who reigned for twenty years.
2. Sultan Mahmūd Yemīnuddowlah, who reigned for thirty-five years.
3. Sultan Muhammad, son of Sultan Mahmūd, whose reign lasted for fifty days.
4. Sultan Mas'ūd, son of Sultan Mahmūd, who reigned for eleven years.
5. Sultan Maudud, son of Sultan Mas'ūd, whose reign lasted for nine years.
6. Sultan Muhammad, son of Maudud, whose reign lasted for only five days.
7. Sultan 'Alī, son of Mas'ūd, who ruled for only three months.
8. 'Abdur Rashīd, son of Mas'ūd, who ruled for four years.
9. Farrukh Nizād, son of Mas'ūd, who ruled for six years.
10. Ibrahim, son of Mas'ūd, who ruled for thirty years, and according to some, for forty-two years.
11. Mas'ūd, son of Ibrahim, who ruled for sixteen years.
12. Arslān Shāh, son of Mas'ūd, who ruled for three years
13. Bahrām Shāh, son of Mas'ūd, who ruled for thirty-five years.
14. Khusro Shāh, son of Bahrām Shāh, who ruled for eight years.
15. Khusro Malik, son of Khusro Shāh, who ruled for twenty-eight years.

¹ The names of the Kings have been given with some differences in the MSS. collated and in the lithographed edition, MS. B gives an extremely confused and incorrect list, MS. C only contains twelve names.

I. ĀMİR NĀSIRUDDĪN SABUKTIGIN.

He was a slave of Turkish descent, belonging to Alb-tigin, who in his turn was a slave of Āmīr Maṣṣūr, the son of Nūh, the Sāmānī, who attained to the rank of ¹ Āmīr ul Umrā in the service of the latter. During the time when Āmīr Maṣṣūr flourished Āmīr Nāsiruddīn came to Bukhārā, in the company of Abu Is-hāk, the son of Alb-tigin; and in his service, attained to the rank of his agent. When Abu Is-hāk became the governor of Ghaznīn, as Deputy of Āmīr Maṣṣūr, he left the work of the government in the hands of Āmīr Nāsiruddīn, whose rule acquired complete stability and strength. When Abu Is-hāk departed to the other world, leaving no heir behind him, the army and the people consented to the rule of ² Āmīr Nāsiruddīn and swore allegiance to him. He then commenced the work of government with great energy, and raised the standard of conquest.

In the year 367 A.H. Tughān, who had been the ruler of the territory of Bast, but had been dispossessed by a man of the name of Pātiūz, came to Āmīr Nāsiruddīn and besought him for help. Āmīr Nāsiruddīn advanced with his troops, wrested Bast from Pātiūz, and made it over to Tughān; who agreed to pay a large tribute, and entered into an engagement that he would never stray from the path of allegiance. He afterwards broke the engagement, and Āmīr Nāsiruddīn dispossessed him of the territory, and left his own agent there.

As the fort of Kusdār was in the neighbourhood of his territory, and its ruler asserted his independence, Āmīr Nāsiruddīn suddenly surprised him, and made him prisoner; but in the end placed him

¹ According to the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri* Alb-tigin was the Amir-i-hajib or Lord Chamberlain of Maṣṣūr (see *Tab-i-Nās.* translation, p. 71).

² Is-hāk was succeeded by Amīr Balkātigin, who ruled for ten years according to the text of the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri*. It appears however that Is-hāk died in 355 A.H. and Balkātigin in 362 A.H., so that the rule of the latter lasted only for seven years. On the death of Balkātigin, Pīrey another slave of Alb-tigin succeeded to the government, but he was deposed in 367 A.H. when the government passed to Sabuktigin (see *Tab-i-Nās. trans.*, pp. 72-73).

in the ranks of his servants; and confirmed him in the government of Knsdār.

After this, with kingly energy and determination, he girded up his loins for a war of religion, and invaded Hindustan, and carried away many prisoners of war and other plunder; and in every country, which he conquered, he founded mosques; and he endeavoured to ruin and desolate the territories of Rājā Jaipāl who, at that time, was the ruler of Hindustan. Jaipāl being much distressed by the invasion of his Kingdom, and the desolation brought on it thereby, attacked Āmir Nāsiruddīn with a well-equipped army, in which there were many huge elephants. The Āmir advanced to meet him, and encountered him near the boundary of his own territory. A bloody battle ensued, in which Āmir Mahmūd, the son of Āmir Nāsiruddīn, showed much courage and great heroism. The two armies remained, confronting each other for some days, during which, several sanguinary conflicts occurred. They say, that there was a spring in that neighbourhood, into which if by any chance any dirt or filth was cast, storm arose and heavy snow and rain fell. Āmir Mahmūd ordered that filth might be thrown into the spring, and when this was done, there was much wind, and a heavy fall of snow; and Jaipāl's troops, who were not accustomed to the cold, suffered much distress, and many horses and other animals died. Jaipāl in great distress struck the door of peace, and it was settled that he should send fifty elephants and much treasure to Āmir Nāsiruddīn; and should leave some of his trusted followers as hostages; and should take with him some of the trusted adherents of Āmir Nāsiruddīn; so that he might make over to them the treasure and the elephants.

When, however, he reached his own country he broke his engagement, and imprisoned the agents of Āmir Nāsiruddīn, in retaliation, for the imprisonment of the men whom he had left as hostages. When Āmir Nāsiruddīn heard this, he advanced with his troops, with the determination of taking a signal revenge. Jaipāl sought the help of the other Rajas of Hindustan, and collecting about a hundred thousand mounted troops and many elephants, advanced to meet him, and the two armies met in the neighbourhood of Lamghān, and a great battle took place. Āmir Nāsiruddīn was victorious; and much booty, in the shape of prisoners of war, and

elephants, and treasure, fell into his hands. Jaipāl fled into Hindustan, and the Langhān country came into the possession of Āmir Nāsiruddīn, and his name was inserted in the prayers, and impressed on the coinage of that country.

After this, he went to assist Āmir Nuh, the son of Maṅṣūr, the Simīnī; and in Khurāsān, and in Māwar-un-nahar, he gained many victories; and in the month of Sh'abān in the year 387 A.H. he said 'there I am' to the summons of the great God. The period of his rule extended over twenty years.

II. SULTĀN MAHMŪD SABUKTIGIN.

After the death of Sabuktigin, Āmir Ismail, who was his eldest son, sat in his place, and wished to deprive Āmir Mahmūd of his heritage, but the latter vanquished him, and succeeded his father. He marched his armies towards Balkh, and brought the country of Khurāsān under his rule. When he had cleared that country of the weeds and thorns of his enemies, and the sound of the kettle-drum of his greatness had spread in all directions, the Caliph of Baghdād, Abū alī-Billāh Abbāsī, sent him a robe of honour, more splendid than any which had been previously sent by any Caliph to any Bīd'ī, and conferred on him the title of Amīr-ul-millat wa Yaman-ul-Dawla.

In the latter part of Zulkā'd 390 A.H. the Sultān went from Balkh to Herāt, and from there he went to Sistān, and having

defeated K̄halaf the son of Ahmad, the ruler of that country, brought him to Ghaznīn. From Ghaznīn he turned his attention to Hindustan: seized a few fortresses and returned.

He then entered into an alliance with Ailak Khān,¹ and it was settled between them, that Māwar-un-nahar should belong to Ailak Khān, and all the rest to the Sultan.

In the month of Shawwāl 391 A.H. the Sultan again invaded Hindustan from Ghaznīn, and with ten thousand horsemen attacked Parshāvar. Rājā Jaipāl with ten or twelve thousand horsemen, a large number of foot soldiers, and three hundred elephants, advanced to meet him, and arrayed his troops in the field of battle. The two armies fought with each other and showed much gallantry, but in the end, victory fell to Sultān Mahmūd. Rājā Jaipāl, with fifteen of his sons and brothers, was taken prisoner, and five thousand of the infidels were slain in the battle. It is said that Jaipāl wore round his neck a jewelled necklace, which is called a Mālā in the language of Hindustan, which experts valued at one hundred and eighty thousand *Dinārs*, and there were also necklaces of great value round the necks of his brothers. This battle took place on Saturday the 8th Muharram 392 A.H. From that place the Sultān went to Bahinda,² which was the place of residence of Jaipāl, and conquered that country; and in the spring returned to Ghaznīn.

In the Muharram of 393 A.H. he again went to Sīstān, and having again defeated K̄halaf brought him to Ghaznīn. He then again invaded Hindustan, and with the object of seizing Bhātiāh, he marched through the territory of Multan and encamped in front of Bhātiāh. Bahira, Raja of that place, who was proud of his large army, the number of his elephants and the strength of his fortress, left his troops to oppose the Sultān, and went himself with a few

¹ This appears to have taken place in 396 A.H. when Sultan Mahmūd sent an envoy to Ailak Khān, the Turk, son of Baghra Khān, proposing the alliance, and the division of territory. The Sāmāni dynasty had now ceased to exist, the last representative having been put to death.

² There is much doubt as to whether this is identical with the modern Peshawar, because the latter city was generally called Bagrām up to the time of Būbar and Akbar.

³ This place has been identified by Major Raverty with Bathinda situated in the S.W. corner of Patiala territory. (See note 2, p. 76, of his trans. of the *Tabi-Nūs*.)

followers to the bank of the Sind or Indus river. When the Sultān came to know this, he sent some troops to attack the Raja, and the latter being surrounded by these troops, put an end to his existence by stabbing himself with his dagger; and his head was brought to the Sultan. The Sultan put many of his adherents to the sword, and having acquired much plunder in the shape of prisoners and elephants, and the delicate products of Hindustan, returned to Ghaznīn. Among the booty, there were two hundred and eighty elephants.

It is said that as Dāūd the son of Naṣr, the ruler of Multān, belonged to the sect of the Mulāhida, the Sultan was incited by his zeal for religion to punish him. He therefore advanced towards Multan; and with the object of taking him by surprise took a contrary or roundabout route. Ānandpāl, the son of Jaipāl, who had to be passed, opposed his march, and the Sultan ordered his troops to give him battle and devastate and plunder his country. Anandpāl being discomfited fled to the mountains of Kashmir, and the Sultan marching along the Indus¹ reached Multan which he besieged for seven days. The ruler of Multan agreed to pay an annual tribute of twenty thousand dirams, and engaged to follow the dictates of true religion and foreswore his errors. The Sultān having entered into a treaty with him on these terms returned to Ghaznīn. This happened in the year 396 A.H.

In the year 397 A.H. he was occupied with warfare with the Turks, as is mentioned in more comprehensive histories, and when in Rabi'ul Ākhar 398 A.H. he became disengaged from that war with victory and renown, intelligence was received that Sukhpāl, the grandson of the Rāja of Hindustan, who had been taken prisoner by Abu 'Alī Simjuri and had accepted Islam at his hands, had taken the path of recusancy and had fled. Sultān Mahmūd pursued him, and having captured him put him in prison, and he died in captivity.

In the year 399 A.H. the Sultan invaded India again, and having fought with and defeated Ānandpāl took thirty elephants and much other booty from him. He then went to Bhīmnaḡar,² and

¹ The meaning is not clear. The lithographed edition and MSS. B and C have نهر ہند while MS. A has نهر سند. I have adopted the latter reading.

² The same as Kangra or Nagar Kot.

brought the ruler of that country, who was styled the Shār, prisoner with him, and at the end of that year Abul Fawāris, the son of Baha-ud-dowla, sought the protection of Sultān Mahmūd from the tyranny of his brothers. The Sultān wrote letters to them, so that peace was established among them.

The same year an envoy came from the ruler of Egypt, who was called Thārti.¹ The learned men and the great lawyers told the Sultān that this envoy held the tenets of the Kārāmīta.² The Sultān accordingly ordered him to be denounced and driven out of his dominions.

In the year 404 A.H. the Sultān marched against the fort of Nandanah which is situated among the Bālnāth hills. Naro Jaipāl³ left tried warriors for the protection of the fort, and went himself into the valley of Kashmir. The Sultān on arrival at Nandanah surrounded the fort and began to run mines and to take all other measures which were necessary for its capture. The people in the fort surrendered it, on receiving assurances for their safety. Sultān Mahmūd entered the fort with a few of his personal attendants, and took away all the treasures and valuable articles which were there, and appointing Sarigh to be the Kotwāl or Superintendent of the fort, turned his face towards the valley of Kashmir, where Naro Jaipāl was. The latter fled from that place also, and the Sultan entering the valley carried away much booty, in the shape of prisoners of war and gold, and after converting many of the infidels to Islam, and laying the foundations of Islam, went back to Ghaznīn.

Again in the year 406 A.H. the Sultan advanced into Kashmīr, and besieged the fort of Lohkot ¹ which was celebrated for its height and strength; but there was much wind and snow, and the winter became severe, and the Kashmirians received reinforcements, so he abandoned the siege; and in the spring returned to Ghaznīn.

The same year ² Abū-l-Abbās-i-Mamun, the Shah of Khwārizm, wrote letters to Mahmūd and asked for his sister in marriage, and the Sultān, according to the request, sent his sister to Khwārizm. In the year 407 A.H. a band of low people attacked the Shāh of Khwārizm, and slew him. The Sultān advanced from Ghaznīn to Balkh and from there attempted to invade Khwārizm, and when he arrived at Hasarband, which is the boundary of that country, he sent forward Muhammad the son of Ibrahim Tā'i, in command of an advanced guard. When these encamped at a place, and were engaged in morning prayers, Khamār Tāsh, the commander of the army of Khwārizm, came out of ambush, attacked them, and having slain a large number dispersed the rest. When the Sultān received this news, he sent a large body of his personal slaves ³ in pursuit of

from the place. "The Sultan entering that valley took much booty," etc., etc., as in the other MSS., and in the lithographed edition.

¹ The name of the fort is variously given. The lithographed edition calls it كوتہ; MS. A simply كوة, MS. B لوه كوت and MS. C بون كوت. Lohkot was the old name of Lahore, as according to tradition it was founded by Laba or Loh, one of the two sons of Rūm. It cannot, however, be said with certainty that the Lohkot here mentioned is identical with Lahore.

² According to Raverty (see notes 8 and 9, p. 84 of his trans. of the Tab-i-Nūs,) Abul-'Abbās-i-Māmūn Farīghūnī ruler of Jurjānīah in Khwārizm was Mahmud's son-in-law, and he was murdered by some of his troops in 407 A.H. It appears that Mahmud's daughter was married in 387 A.H. to 'Alī the son of Māmūn, son of Mahammad Al Farīghūnī, the Wali or ruler of Jurjānīah. 'Alī died in 390 A.H., and was succeeded by his brother Abul-'Abbās. He in the following year sent an envoy supposed to be Abū Rihūn Al Biruni (who has been so much depended upon for his knowledge of India) asking permission to marry the lady, his brother's widow. According to our author he again, asked Sultan Mahmud in 406 A.H. for the latter's sister as another wife. Khwārizm was the country lying along the banks of the Oxus or Jihun and extending to the Caspian Sea.

³ The Court of Sultan Mahmūd was guarded by 4000 Turkish youths, who when they attained unto man's estate and their beards began to grow wore attached to a separate corps.

Khamār Tāsh, and they seized him and brought him before the Sultān. When the Sultān reached the fortress of Hazārasp, the army of Khwārizm came and met him in great strength and numbers. There was a great battle, and finally the army of Khwārizm was vanquished, and Alptigīn¹ Bukhāri, who was their commander, was taken prisoner. The Sultān advanced with his army into Khwārizm, and first sentenced the murderers of Abul-'Abbās to death; and made over Khwārizm and Arganj² to his own Lord Chamberlain Altuntāsh, after conferring on him the title of Shah of Khwārizm. From Khwārizm the Sultan came to Balkh and conferred the country of Hirat on his son Amir Mas'ūd, and sent Abusahl³ Muhammad bin Husen Rauzāni with him as his agent, and he made over Kurkan to Amir Muhammad and sent Abu Bakr Kuhtani³ with him.

In the year 409 A.H. Sultān Mahmūd advanced with his army with the intention of conquering the country of Kannouj, crossed seven terrible rivers, and when he reached the boundary of Kannouj, Korah⁴ the ruler of the country made his submission, besought the Sultan's protection and paid tribute. From Kannouj the Sultan advanced to Baran,⁵ where the Raja, whose name was Hardat, left the fort in charge of his tribesmen and relatives, and himself went into seclusion. The garrison, being unable to withstand the Sultan, paid a tribute of a thousand times thousand dirams, which would be equivalent to two lakhs and fifty thousand rupees, and thirty elephants, and thus obtained safety. From that place, the Sultan came to the fortress of Mahāwan, which is situated on the bank of the Jun (or Jumna), and the ruler of that fort, whose name was Kulchandra, attempted to escape across the river on an elephant.

¹ Raverty calls him Nialtigin, but says he has been called Albtigīn by Baihaki (see note 9, p. 84 of his trans. of the Tab-i-Nāṣ.).

² Arganj was a city in Khurāsān.

³ These names are variously given in the lithographed edition, and in the MSS. collated.

⁴ So in the lithographed edition and in the MSS.; he was probably however not the Raja of Kannouj, but of some fort or territory on the way. The name of the Raja of Kannouj was Rājyapāl Parihār, though that name does not occur in this history.

⁵ The modern Buland Shāhar. According to other historians Hardat, Hardat of Abdul Qadir-i-Badāūni, and Hirdat of the Jami'uttawārikh, was the Raja of Mathurah.

The Sultan's troops pursued him, and when they came up to him, he slew himself with his dagger.

When to live, doth add to one's enemy's joy,
'Tis better far to die than live.

The fort was captured, and eighty-five elephants, and plunder beyond all calculation, fell into the hands of the army of Islam.

From that place, the Sultân advanced to Maturah, which is a large city containing many temples. It is the birthplace of Kîshan (Krishna) the son of Bâsdeo, a god whom the Hindus believe to be the incarnation (literally the place of descent or alighting) of the great self-existent one. In short, when the Sultan arrived in this city, no one came forward to give him battle: and the Sultan's army completely destroyed the city and burnt the temples, and obtained boundless wealth. There was one golden idol, which was broken up under the orders of the Sultan, which weighed 98,300 Miskâls ¹ of pure gold. They found a precious stone,² the weight of which was 450 Miskâls. They say that Chând Rây, who was one of the Rajas of Hindustan, had an elephant which was of immense size, and was highly renowned. The Sultan wanted to buy it, and offered a large price, but could not get it. It so happened that, at the time of the return of the Sultan from Kannouj, one night this elephant ran away without its driver, and came to the vicinity of the Sultan's pavilion. The latter took possession of it, made great rejoicings and named it "the gift of God." When he reached Ghaznî, he had the booty obtained in the expedition to Kannouj counted; it amounted to twenty *dand* ³ or a thousand times thousand dirams, and fifty-three thousand prisoners of war, and three hundred and ⁴ fifty elephants.

¹ A Miskâl was the $\frac{1}{200}$ th part of a seer.

² The precious stone is called a Yûkût-i-kuhli. A yûkût is either a ruby or a sapphire; the adjective means that it was of the colour of kuhl or cellyrium.

³ The meaning is not clear. The lithographed edition reads بست داند یا هزار هزار درم آمد (i.e., it came to twenty dand (?) or a thousand times thousand dirams. MS. A reads بست و اند یار هزار درم آمد. MS. B has بیست و اند بار هزار درم آمد and MS. C has بیست و آمد بار هزار آمد none of which readings are intelligible.

⁴ There is a word داند between پنجاه and فیل in the lithographed

It has been handed down, that when the Sultān heard that a Rāja of the name of Nandā¹ had slain the Raja of Kannouj, because the latter had submitted and rendered allegiance to him he formed a strong resolution to destroy Nandā, and in the year 410 A.H. he again invaded Hindustān, and when he reached the river Jun, Naro Jaipāl, who had several times fled before his armies, encamped in front of it now, in order to help and assist Nandā. As the river was deep no one could cross it without the permission of the Sultān. But in some unexplained manner, sixty of the personal slaves or guards of the Sultān suddenly crossed the river, threw the army of Naro Jaipāl into confusion, and routed it. Naro Jaipāl with some of the infidels escaped. The slaves did not come back to the Sultan, but attacked the town, which was in the neighbourhood; and finding it empty, plundered and ravaged it, and destroyed the idol temples.

From that place the Sultān advanced towards the kingdom of Nandā. The latter prepared for battle and collected an immense army. It is said that this army consisted of 36,000 horsemen, 145,000 foot soldiers, and 390 elephants.² When the Sultan encamped in front of Nandā's army, he first sent an envoy to him, and invited him to submit, and to accept Islām. Nandā refused to place his neck under the yoke of subjection. After that the Sultān went to an elevated spot, so that he might look at, and make an estimate of, the strength of Nandā's army. Then when he saw what a vast host it was, he repented of his coming; and placing the forehead of supplication on the ground of submission and humility, prayed for victory and conquest from the Giver of all Mercies. In the night a great fear fell on the heart of Nandā, and he fled with a few special companions, leaving the army and all the munitions of war behind.

The next morning, when the Sultān heard this, he mounted his

edition and in MS. A; in MS. B it is $\Delta\eta$. In MS. C there is nothing between the two words. I cannot make out the meaning of $\Delta\eta\Delta$ or $\Delta\eta$.

¹ The name is so given in the MSS. as well as in the lithographed edition. The correct name appears to have been Gandā the Chāndel Rāja of Kālanjar, which was situated in what is now the Banda District.

² These numbers are taken from the lithographed edition, but there are variations in the MSS. MS. A gives the infantry at 105,000, and all the three MSS. give the number of the elephants at 640.

horse, and after having all the places where the enemy might be in ambush carefully searched, examined the traces of the hostile army, and when he was satisfied that no deception or treachery was intended, he stretched out his hand for destruction and plunder. Immense quantities of booty fell into the hands of the army of Islām. They also accidentally found five hundred and eighty elephants belonging to the army of Nandū in a wood, which was included in the booty.

At the same time intelligence was brought that there were two valleys called Kīrāt and Nūr, the inhabitants of which were heathens and had strongholds. The Sultan ordered his troops to be assembled, and he advanced towards that country, taking with him a large body of blacksmiths, carpenters and stone-cutters. When he reached that country he first attacked Kīrāt; this is a cold country in which large quantities of fruit are grown, and the people of the country worship¹. The ruler of that forest land made his submission; and all the inhabitants of that country also attained to the happiness of Islam. Sāhib 'Alī ibn Alat Arslan² was nominated for the conquest of Nūr. He advanced into the country, conquered it, and laid the foundation of a fort, and left after nominating 'Alī ibn Qadr Jūk to be its Kotwāl or commandant. Islam spread in that country also, in some cases with the consent of the people, and in others in spite of their opposition.

In the year 412 A.H. the Sultan invaded Kashmir and laid siege to the fort of Lohkot. He remained there for a month, but as, owing to its strength and inaccessibility, he was unable to take it, he left the place and advanced towards Lahore and Bakrah.⁴ The

¹ What they worship is not clear. The lithographed edition reads مردم شبر پرستند while the MSS. read شبر پرستند.

² This name is differently given in the lithographed edition and in the MSS. In the former it is given as I have given it in the text. In MS. A it is written Sāhib 'Alī ibn Ilar Musalmūn, MS. B gives it as Sāhib 'Alī bin Ilar slan, while MS. C altogether omits the part of the sentence in which his appointment is mentioned.

³ This is the fort already mentioned in page 9. The lithographed edition and MSS. A and B agree in calling it Lohkot, MS. C calls it لوده کوت.

⁴ The lithographed edition calls this place Bakrah. MS. A calls it Baker, and MS. B Bakhrah. MS. C has left out the name altogether.

troops dispersed themselves among the foot-hills, plundering and ravaging, and booty beyond all calculation fell into the hands of the army of Islam. In the beginning of spring, the Sultān returned to Ghaznīn crowned with victory and renown.

In the year 413 A.H. he again invaded the kingdom of Nandā, and when he reached the fortress of Gwāliar, he laid siege to it. At the end of four days, the commandant of the fort sent envoys, and offering a tribute of thirty-five elephants, prayed for protection. The Sultan accepted these terms, and advancing to the fort of Kālanjar, which has no equal in the whole country of Hindustān for strength and impregnability, besieged it. The siege lasted for a considerable time, when Nandā, the ruler of the fort, offered three hundred elephants as a tribute, and begged for safety. When these elephants were let loose from inside the fort, without any drivers, the Sultān ordered that the Turks should catch hold of, and mount them. The troops in the fort were astonished at this spectacle; and felt much awe for the prowess of the Turks. Nandā then sent some verses, which he had composed in the Hindi tongue, in praise of the Sultan. The latter showed them to the eloquent men of Hindustān, and other poets who were in attendance on him. They all praised them. The Sultān sent his congratulations, and a mandate conferring the command of fifteen fortresses, and other presents in return for them. Nandā also sent much treasure and precious gems for the acceptance of the Sultān. From that place the Sultān returned (to Ghaznīn) with victory and triumph.

In the year 414 A.H. the Sultan had a muster taken of his troops: and it was found, that over and above the troops that were in garrison in various parts of his dominion, there were 54,000 mounted troops and 1300 elephants.

In the year 415 A.H. the Sultan went to Balkh. At the time, the people of Māwar-un-nahr complained of the oppression of 'Alī Tigin; and the Sultān resolved upon punishing him; and crossed the Jihun with that purpose. The Sardārs of Māwar-un-nahr hastened one by one to welcome him, and each according to his rank and circumstances offered tribute. Yūsuf Kadr Khān, who was the ruler of the whole of Turkistan, also came to welcome him, and met him in the way of friendship and affection. The Sultān rejoiced at his coming, and arranged festive meetings; and they sent presents

to each other. The Sultan sent him the delicate products of Hindustan, brilliant gems, and huge elephants, and they separated from each other in peace and good-will. 'Alî Tigîn hearing of the Sultan's intentions fled. The Sultan sent men to seize him. They made him prisoner, and brought him before the Sultan. The latter ordered him to be imprisoned, and sent him to one of the forts of Hindustân. He then returned to Ghaznî and passed the winter there.

Then in accordance with his custom, he advanced with his army towards Hindustân with the object of the conquest of Somnâth. This is a large city on the shore of the sea, and is a place of worship of the Brâhmans. There were many golden idols in the temple in the city, and the largest of these idols was called Manût.¹ I have read in historical works that before the advent of the last of the prophets, may God pour peace and blessings on him! this idol was taken out of the house Ka'aba, and was brought here; but it appears from the ancient books of the Brâhmans, that this is not so. This idol has been the object of the adoration of the Brahmanas from the time of Kishan (Krishna), which was four thousand years ago; and according to the Brahmanas, it was here that Kishan disappeared.

In short, when the Sultan reached the city of Nahrwâlâ Patan, he found it empty. He ordered that grain might be collected, and then he took the way to Somnâth. When he reached Somnâth, the inhabitants shut the gate on his face. After much fighting and great struggles the fort was taken, and the methods of plunder and destruction were carried into effect, and vast multitudes were killed and taken prisoner. The temples were pulled down, and destroyed from their very foundations. The idol Somnâth was broken to pieces, and one piece was sent to Ghaznî, and was placed at the gate of the Jâme' Masjid; and for years it remained there.

The Sultan raised his standard with the intention of returning; but as Param Deo, one of the most powerful of the Râjas of Hindustân, had to be met on the way, and he did not consider it advisable to fight with him at that time, under all the circumstances, he turned

¹ One of the chief idols of the Pagans of Mecca, before the preaching of Islam, was named Manût.

² The phrase is curious *لوازم غارت و تاراج بعمل آمد*.

towards Multan by way of Sindh. His troops suffered great privations *en route*, in some places, on account of scarcity of water, and in others, for want of fodder; but at last, after suffering great distress and hardship, he reached Ghaznin in the year 417 A.H.

In this year the Cāliph Al-ḳādir-Billāh wrote a letter to the Sultān: and sent him the standards of Khurāsān and Hindustān and Nimroz and Khwārizm; and he bestowed titles on the Sultan, and his sons and brothers, in that letter. The Sultan received the title of Kalif-ud-dowlat wal Islām (the cave or asylum of the state and of Islām): Amīr Mas'ud that of Shahab-ud-dowlat wa Jamāl-ul-Millat (the bright star of the state and the beauty of religion); Amīr Muhammad that of Jalāl-ud-dowlat wa Jamāl-ul-Millat (the greatness of the state and the beauty of religion); and Amīr Yusuf that of 'Azd-ud-dowlat wa Mu'id-ul-Millat (the strength of the state and the help of religion); and he wrote in the letter, that he would recognise any of these, whom he might declare to be his heir and successor. This letter reached the Sultan at Balkh.

The same year the Sultān undertook an expedition to punish the Jats, who had, at the time of his return from Somnāth, behaved improperly towards his army, and had caused them much annoyance. He advanced towards Multan with a large force, and when he reached Multan ordered that a fleet of one thousand and four hundred boats should be constructed, and that three very strong iron bars or branches should be firmly fixed on each boat, one in front and two on the two sides; so that any thing which might strike against them would be broken into small bits and would altogether disappear; and placing twenty men armed with bows and arrows in each boat, and large flasks of naphthā, he went forward to attack the Jats. The Jats, being warned (of these preparations), sent their wives and families to the islands; and thus unencumbered made ready to oppose him. They had four thousand, and according to another report, eight thousand boats on the river; and they placed a number of armed men on each of them, and thus prepared for battle and bloodshed. When the two armies met each other, there was a great conflict. Each one of the boats of the Jats, when it came in front of one of the Sultan's boats, and struck one of the branches, was rent asunder, and sank. In this way the whole of the Jats were drowned; and those who escaped drowning were cut to pieces. The Sultan's

army then fell upon their families, and made them prisoners ; and the Sultan returned victorious to Ghaznin.

In the year 419 A.H. the Sultan deputed Amir Tus Abul Harb Arslan to Bāward ¹ that he might go and extirpate the Turkmans. After much fighting, Amir Tus wrote to the Sultan that it would not be possible to check the disturbances created by the Turkmans, unless he came there in person. So the Sultan went and extirpated the Turkmans. He then went on to Rei, and without any exertion or any trouble took possession of buried treasures and wealth, which the rulers of the country had accumulated in the course of many ages. There were large numbers of infidels and schismatics in these parts. Every one who was proved to be one, was sentenced to death. The countries of Rei and Isfahān were conferred on Amīr Mas'ud ; and the Sultan returned to Ghaznin.

In a short time after this, the Sultan was attacked with a hectic fever, and the disease became worse daily, and he was able with great difficulty to show himself to the people, as if he still possessed his former strength. In this condition he proceeded to Balkh ; and when spring came, he returned to Ghaznin ; and there he died of the same disease on Thursday the 23rd of Rabī'ul Akhar ² 421 A.H. May the mercy of God be upon him. His reign extended over a period of thirty-five years.

They say, that when he was suffering the agony of death, the Sultan ordered that all his wealth and the beautiful things which he had collected should be placed before his eyes. He grieved over his approaching separation from them, and sighed bitterly, but did not give the smallest thing to anybody. He led twelve expeditions into India, and carried on religious warfare.

III. JALĀL-UD-DOWLAH JAMĀL-UL-MILLAT MUHAMMAD THE SON ✓ OF MAHMŪD.

At the time that Sultan Mahmūd departed from this world Amīr Mahmūd was in Isfahān ³ and Amīr Muhammad in Gurgān.

¹ The name of the place is not clear. No name is given in the lithographed edition. MS. A reads like باور و نسا. MS. B و ما ورد و نسا. MS. C باوردون

² Major Raverty quoting from the Mukāmāt of the Amīd Abu Naṣr says that Mahmud died on Thursday, the 14th Rabī'uṣ Ṣani 421 A.H.

³ According to the Ṭab-i-Nāṣ. he was in 'Irāk, of which he was governor.

Amir 'Alī bin Ail Arslān, who was related to Sultan Mahmūd, summoned Amir Muhammad, and placed him on the throne at Ghaznī. Amir Muhammad first turned his attention towards the oppressed, thought carefully about the matter, and endeavoured to increase the population and the wealth of the kingdom. He also opened the doors of his treasuries and bestowed riches on high and low. He appointed Yākūb, the son of Yusuf, the son of Nāṣiruddīn, who was his uncle, to be the commander of his army; and conferred a robe of honour on him; and Khwajah 'Abū Sahl Ahmad bin al Hasan al Handourī was made minister, and entrusted with all affairs of

Nishapur. They did him homage. He was much pleased, spoke of the fatigue of their journey, and enquired of the state of things generally.

Amīr Muhammad was at Ghaznīn, in the enjoyment of pleasure and happiness. After four months had passed in this way he ordered that his pavilion should be moved towards Bast; and he started from Ghaznīn with much pomp. When they reached Tiginābād all the commanders of the army joined together; and sent a message to Amīr Muhammad telling him, that as all the people wanted to submit to Amīr Mas'ūd and do him homage, and it was certain that he (Muhammad) would not be able to withstand him, it would be better that he should go and sit in his own place (i.e. seek an asylum somewhere), and that they should go to him and make excuses to him for themselves and for him; and he might summon him to his presence, and he and they might escape with their lives. The Amīr saw no other alternative than to accept this proposal. Then Amīr Yusuf and 'Ali Hājib and other commanders of the army placed Amīr Muhammad in the fort of Zabḥ.¹ The whole of the army, with all the treasure, then marched towards Amīr Mas'ūd, and went to Hirāt. The rule of Muhammad did not extend beyond five months.

IV. ABU SA'ID MAS'ŪD BIN YEMIN-UD-DOWLAH SULTAN MAHMUD.

When Āyāz, the son of Aymāk, and 'Ali Dāyah went to Amīr Mas'ūd in Nishāpur, the latter feeling confidence in his powers, turned his attention to the administration of justice. After a few days, Abu Sahl Mursil bin Mansur bin Aflaj Gurdaizi brought a standard from the Amīr-ul-Mauminin Al-ḳadir-Billah; and became the recipient of many favours and much kindness. Amīr Mas'ūd then came to Hirāt from Nishāpur. 'Ali Hājib came at this time to Amīr Mas'ūd, and received various favours. The whole of the army, and the treasures also now reached Hirāt; and Amīr Mas'ūd leaving Hirāt went to Balkh; and spent the winter there.

Amīr Mas'ūd then sent for Abul Kāsim Ahmad bin Hasan Maimandi, who had been imprisoned in the fort of Kālanjar by

¹ The name of the fort is not clear; in the lithographed edition it is ذبح and in MSS. A, B and C respectively ذبح, ذع, and ذلج.

and besieged it, and in the end seized it and obtained much booty. From that place he went back to Ghaznīn.

In the year 425 A.H. Amīr Mas'ūd invaded Amīl and Sārī. The people of that country collected together and prepared for a bloody struggle, and as the army of Ghaznīn was victorious, Amīr ¹ Kali Khan the Amīr of Ṭabaristan sent envoys, and agreeing to insert the name of Mas'ūd in the Khutba or public prayers, sent his own son Balman and his nephew Sharwīn the son of Surkhāb as hostages. Amīr Mas'ūd then turned his face towards Ghaznīn, and when he reached Nishāpūr the people complained to him of the oppression of the Turkmans. Amīr Mas'ūd sent Ekta'di and Husen bin 'Alī bin Mikāil with a large force against them. When the army reached Shunia-Itfak, ² the Turkmans came in, and represented that they were the slaves of the Amīr's threshold, and submissive to his commands. All that was necessary was, that the boundaries of their pastures should be defined, in which case they would have no concern with any one, and no one would, in any way, be molested by them. Ekta'di spoke harshly to the envoys, and said, "Between us and you there is no peace except with the sword. If you submit and refrain entirely from evil deeds, and sending some one to Amīr Mas'ūd, bring a letter addressed to me from him, then only will I keep my hands off from you."

When the Turkmans heard this from the mouth of their envoys, they came forward, and there was a great battle. In the end the Turkmans were defeated, and fled from the field of battle. Ekta'di pursued them, and seized their wives and families, and obtained much plunder. When Ekta'di's troops were returning, they became dispersed in search of plunder; and Daud Turkman coming out of the rocky defiles attacked them. The battle lasted through two days and two nights. Ekta'di said to Husen bin 'Alī, "I cannot maintain my position." Husen however stood firm, and went on with the battle, and was taken prisoner by the Turkmans. Ekta'di escaped, and went to Amīr Mas'ūd.

¹ The name is doubtful. It is not given in the lithographed edition but is given in all the MSS.

² This name is given in the lithographed edition as شنید اتفاق, in MS. A as سنید اتفاق, in MS. B as سپند عنقان, and in MS. C as سند اتفاق.

When Amīr Mas'ūd arrived in Ghaznī the news of the revolt of Ahmad bin Nialtigīn reached him. He sent Banth¹ bin Muhammad Ali, who was the commander of the Hindus, against him; and when they met, a battle took place; and Banth was slain, and his army dispersed. When this news reached Amīr Mas'ūd, he sent Tilak bin Husen, who was (another) commander of the Hindus, and he went and fought with Ahmad and defeated him, and he ordered the noses and the ears of such of Ahmad's soldiers as were captured to be cut off. Ahmad escaped to Mansurah in Sindh and attempted to cross the Indus. The river was however suddenly flooded, and carried him away, and he was drowned. When his corpse was afterwards thrown up on the bank, his head was cut off and brought to Tilak, who sent it to Amīr Mas'ūd.

In the year 427 A.H. the new castle was completed, and a golden throne adorned with gems was placed in it, and a golden crown also adorned with precious stones, which weighed seventy maunds, was hung over it with chains of gold, and the Sultan held a public reception, seated on that throne, and with that suspended crown placed on his head.

The same year he sent Amīr Maudūd to Balkh, after conferring on him a standard and a kettle-drum; and he himself marched into Hindustān, and when he reached the fort of Hānsi, he took it, and found in it plunder beyond all count; and from that fort he marched with his army to the fort of Sanipat, and the commandant of that fort, Daniāl² Har by name, becoming aware of his approach, fled, and concealed himself in the jungles. The army of Islam having captured that fort, pulled down all the temples and obtained an enormous quantity of booty. Then when they heard where Daniāl Har was hid, they marched against him, and he coming to know of this fled alone; and all his troops were either slain or taken prisoner.

¹ This name is very differently given in the lithographed edition and in the MSS. In the former it is بانته بن محمد علي, in MS. A it is محمد بن مانده, in MS. B and C تلك بن حسين. Here again we have mention of Hindu troops, but the names of the commanders are peculiar. It is difficult to say what Banth means; Tilak is distinctly Hindu, but the names of the fathers of the commanders are distinctly Muhammadan.

² The name in the text is as it is given in the lithographed edition. In MS. A it is Dipāl Har, in MS. B Dipāl Harmānah, and in MS. C Dipāl Haryānah.

From that place Amīr Mas'ūd advanced to the valley of Rām; and when Rām heard of this he sent much tribute, with a message that as he was old and infirm, he could not come to do homage in person. Amīr Mas'ūd accepted his excuses and withheld his hand from him. He then conferred a standard and a kettle-drum on Amīr¹ Abul Muhammad son of Mas'ūd, and sent him to Lahore, and himself returned to Ghazni.

In the year 429 A.H. he went from Ghazni to Balkh, with the object of checking the disturbances created by the Turkmans. The latter, when they heard of this, left Balkh; and went away elsewhere. In the meantime intelligence was received that the whole of Māwar-un-nahr was in a state of turmoil on account of the aversion which the people felt for Purtikin, who had succeeded Kadr Khān on the latter's death.

And Mas'ūd, hoping to acquire the whole country of Māwar-un-nahr, advanced into it. The people of the country, who had rebelled against their ruler, left their homes, and fled; and no one came forward to give battle. A few days after this, Khwajah bin Muhammad Abdus Samad, Mas'ūd's minister, sent him a letter; and informed him that Dā'ūd Turkmān was, with a large force, threatening Balkh, and he had no such force, and such munitions of war, that he could hope successfully to oppose Dā'ūd. Amīr Mas'ūd immediately returned from Māwar-un-nahr towards Balkh. The Turkmāns turned round and went to Merv. Amīr Mas'ūd arrived at Balkh, and then went to Gurgān in pursuit of Dā'ūd.² There some of the people came to him; and complained of the oppression committed by 'Alī Tandari.³ This man was an impostor, a tyrant, who

¹ The readings here are various. The lithographed edition has "and the Amīr ul Ma'mūn conferred, etc., on Abul Muhammad bin Mas'ūd and sent him to Lahore, etc.," which is clearly incorrect. MS. A has the reading which I have adopted, MS. B reads "and conferring a kettle-drum and a standard on Amīr Fawaris and Mas'ūd, etc.," while MS. C has "and gave a kettle-drum and a standard to Amīr Abul Ahmad bin Muhammad."

² According to MS. C Dā'ūd went to Gurgān, but Mas'ūd did not go there in pursuit of him.

³ The name is so given in the lith. ed. MS. A makes it عبدري in one place and بعبدري in another place in the same line. MS. B makes it قذري and چندي in the two places. MS. C makes it بقندري.

had stretched out his arm over all that region. Amīr Mas'ūd summoned him, to swear allegiance to him; but he heeded him not; but went on harassing the people. He took his family and children to the fort, which was in that neighbourhood, and prepared to withstand a siege. Amīr Mas'ūd sent an army against him. The fort was captured; and 'Ali Tandari was brought before Amīr Mas'ūd; and the latter ordered him to be impaled.

When the Turkmāns heard of Amīr Mas'ūd's march towards Merv, they sent envoys; and represented that they were his slaves, obedient to his commands; that if the boundaries of their pastures were defined, their cattle and families would remain in the lands allotted to them, and they would themselves serve him. Amīr Mas'ūd acceded to their prayers, and sent an envoy to Beghu, who was their leader, so that an agreement might be drawn up, to the effect that from that time they would refrain from their customary misdeeds. At the same time, the boundaries of their pastures were determined. These terms were agreed upon; and then Amīr Mas'ūd turned his face towards Hirat. In the way, a band of Turkmāns fell upon Amīr Mas'ūd's army; slew some of the men; and plundered some things. Amīr Mas'ūd sent a detachment in pursuit of them, who seized and slew them all, and capturing their wives and families brought them, together with the heads of the slain, to the Amīr. The latter sent all those heads, laden on asses, to Beghu, with the message that this was the punishment of all those who broke their engagements. Beghu made his excuses, and said that he knew nothing of these things, and that the Amīr had himself done to those people what he could have himself wished to do. The Amīr then went from Hirat to Nishapūr, and from the latter place to Tus. Near the latter place a band of Turkmāns met him, and a battle was fought, and many of them were slain. At this time intelligence was brought that the people of Bāward had delivered their fort to the Turkmāns. Amīr Mas'ūd attacked the fort, and having captured it, put the garrison to the sword. He then returned to Nishapūr and spent the winter there.

When the spring of 430 A.H. came, Amīr Mas'ūd again went to Bāward, with the object of attacking Tughral Turkmān. The latter became aware of this, and went away towards Taran Bāward. Amīr Mas'ūd turned round and came towards Sarakhs by way of

Mahnah, and as the people of Mahnah did not pay their tribute, he had them seized; and ordered many of them to be slain; and the hands of others to be cut off; and also had their strongholds demolished. From those parts he moved to Didankan.¹ When he arrived at this place, the Turkmāns came in great numbers from different directions and surrounded the army of Ghaznīn. Amīr Mas'ūd arrayed his troops, and made ready for battle. The Turkmāns met him also arrayed for battle, and a great conflict took place. In the meantime many of the commanders of the army of Ghaznīn turned round and joined the enemy; and the Amīr remained alone in the field of battle. He slew some of the leaders of the Turkmāns with his sword and lance and mace. Those of the commanders of the army of Ghaznīn who had gone over to the enemy now turned their backs to the field of battle and fled towards Ghaznīn. When there was no one near Amīr Mas'ūd he got out of the battlefield, through his own courage and prowess; and no one dared to pursue him. This occurred on the 8th Ramazān in the year 431 A.H. When Amīr Mas'ūd reached Merv, some of his troops rejoined him, and he came to Ghaznīn, from there, by way of Ghur.

He then punished all the commanders who had turned their backs on the enemy without fighting, such as 'Alī² Dāyah, the great chamberlain Sipāhi and Ekta'di chamberlain. He ordered them all to be seized, mulcted, and sent to India, where they were imprisoned in different forts, and they all died while under imprisonment. Amīr Mas'ūd then determined to take his troops to India, where he might gain new strength and again collect a large army, and then attacking the Turkmāns, place their chastisement in the skirts of time. He sent Amīr Maudūd as Amīr to Balkh and directed Khwajah Muhammad bin Abdus Šamad the Vazir to accompany him, and appointed Artigin³ Hājib to be his chamberlain, and sent

¹ The name of this place is given, as in the text, in MSS. A and B. In MS. C it is written as Yighmar and in the lith. ed. as Damghan. According to note 3, p. 74 of the *Tab-i-Nāṣ*. (trans.) it appears that the name has been variously given in different works, but the correct name is Tālkan.

² The lith. ed. and all the MSS. give the names as given in the text except that in MS. A we have Muka'tadi instead of Ekta'di

³ In the lith. ed. Artigin Hājib is said to have been appointed as Vazir, the words بحاجبی being changed to بجای; but all the MSS. agree in the reading as given in the text.

four¹ thousand men with him. He also ordered Amīr Muhammad to proceed to Multān with two thousand men; and he directed that the Amīr of that province should go to the hilly country of Ghaznīn, so that he might watch the Afghāns of that country who were refractory and prevent them from creating disturbances. He also brought all Sultān Mahmūd's treasures, which were in different forts, to Ghaznīn, and loading them on camels, started with them for India. From the way he sent men who brought his brother Amīr Muhammad from the fort of 'Targhand.²

When he reached Rabaṭ³ Bārīklah, his slaves (or guards) plundered the treasure laden on the camels. At the same time Amīr Muhammad arrived there; and the slaves knowing that their transgression would not be forgiven, unless there was a new Amīr, had no alternative but to go to Amīr Muhammad and to accept him as the Bādshāh. They, therefore, went in a body and attacked Amīr Mas'ūd. The latter fortified himself in the Rabaṭ (inn). The next day the whole army went in a body, and brought the Amīr out of the inn, and seized him and immured him in the fort of Gīrī,⁴ and he remained there till the 11th Jamādi-ul-awwal, 432 A.H., when a false message purporting to come from Amīr Muhammad was sent to the Kotwāl or Commandant of the fort to have him killed; and to send his head to the Amīr. According to this message his head was severed from his body and sent to Amīr Muhammad, who wept much, and severely reprimanded those who had brought this about.

¹ The lith. ed. and MSS. B and C give this number, but MS. A gives only one thousand.

² So in the lith. ed. MS. A reads برعد, B برعد, C عسر. The Ṭab-i-Nāṣ. says that Barghand was the name of the fort in which Ibrahim and Farrukhzad were kept in imprisonment. Amīr Muhammad might have been imprisoned in the same fort.

³ So in MS. B. MS. A reads رباط باركله, MS. C رباط باركله and the lith. ed. رباط باركله, but a few lines further on it has رباط باركله. According to the Ṭab-i-Nāṣ. trans., p. 95, the correct name of the place is Mārīgālah. (See note 4 in the same page).

⁴ So in all MSS. The lith. ed. has Gīrī; see also Ṭab-i-Nāṣ. trans., p. 95 and note 2 in the same page.

IV. SHIHĀB-UD-DIN¹ WA DOULAT, WA KUṬB-UL-MILLAT ABUL
FATEH MAUDUD BIN MAS'UD.

When the news of his father's murder reached Amīr Maudūd in Bahistān,² he wanted to start for Bārīklah to revenge him, but Abu³ Naṣr bin Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Abdus Ṣamad kept him back from that undertaking, and took him to Ghaznīn. The people of the town all went forward to meet him, joined in the mourning rites, and took his side. Then with a great army, he advanced upon his uncle, Amīr Muhammad. When he arrived at Dantur,⁴ Amīr Muhammad hastened forward to meet him, and a battle ensued. It lasted the whole day, and when night came on, each side took count of the enemy and remained in the battle-field. During the night Amīr Maudūd sent a messenger to Mir Ajall Sayyad Maṣṣur, who was in Amīr Muhammad's army, and gained him over; so that at the time of battle, the next day, Mir Ajall Sayyad Maṣṣur stood on one side as a spectator, and did not help either of the contending armies. After much fighting, the victory at last fell to Amīr Maudūd; and Amīr Muhammad and his son Ahmad and all the commanders of his army were taken prisoners; and after much torture were put to death. Amīr Maudūd established a cārāvānsarāi and a bazar at that place, and named it Fatehābād, and ordered that the coffins of his father and brothers should be brought to Ghaznīn from Gīrī. This victory took place in the month of Sha'ābān, 432 A.H.

In the year 433 A.H. Amīr Maudūd was displeased with Khwājah Ahmad Abdus Ṣamad; and ordered him to be imprisoned in the

¹ So in the lith. ed., MS. A omits "uddīn" and adds "bin Sultan Mahmud" at the end. MSS. B and C add "bin Mahmud" at the end.

² So in the lith. ed. and in MS. B. In MS. A it is نهبان and in MS. C سیستان. As mentioned above, Amīr Maudūd had been sent to govern Balkh, just before his father started for India, and according to Major Raverty, he was at Balkh, when the tidings of his father's imprisonment and murder reached him; (see note 9, p 95 of the trans. of the Ṭab-i-Nāṣ.)

³ So in the lith. ed. and in MSS. B and C. In MS. A there is no 'bin' before Abdus Ṣamad.

⁴ The name of the place is not given in the lith. ed. In the MSS it is دنتور, دستور and دنور respectively. According to the Ṭab-i-Nāṣ. the battle took place at Nagrahār.

fort of Ghaznī; and he died in captivity. The Amīr then selected Abu Tāhir bin Muhammad Mustaufi to be his Vazīr, and the same year he sent Abu Naṣr Muhammad bin Ahmad towards Hindustan, to fight against Nāmī Muhammad bin Mahmud; and Nāmī was killed in the battle.

In the year 434 A.H. Amīr Maudūd sent Artigin to Tajaristān;¹ and when he arrived there, he received information that the son of Dā-ūd Turkmān had come to Arhan. He marched against him, but when he arrived in his neighbourhood, the Turkmān leader received warning; and leaving his army behind, he went away with a few companions. Artigin followed him and slew many of his followers. He then proceeded to Balkh, and seized that town and had the *Khuṭba* (prayers) read in Amīr Maudūd's name. After a short time, the Turkmāns intending to attack him, approached Balkh; and as he did not have a large army, he asked Amīr Maudūd for reinforcement; but as his request was not acceded to, he returned with his army from Balkh to Ghaznī.

In the year 435 A.H. the Amīr was, owing to the insinuations of certain people, displeased with Abu 'Ali the Kotwal of Ghaznī and put him in prison; but in the end, when he came to know of the Kotwal's innocence, he set him at liberty, and made him the Minister of his dominions as well as Kotwal of Ghaznī, and he ordered Suri² bin Al'abr who had previously been his Vazīr to be imprisoned; and the man died while in prison. People also created a bad impression about Artigin in the mind of Amīr Maudūd; and he had him beheaded in his own presence.

In the year 436 A.H. Khwajah Tāhir the Vazīr received his order (of dismissal); and Khwajah Imām Sayyad Abul Fateh Abdur Razzāk bin Ahmad bin Husen was appointed Vazīr in his place. The same year Tughrāl Hājib was sent towards Bast, and he went as far as Sistān, and having seized the brother of Abul Fazl Darangī Abu Manṣur, brought him to Ghaznī.

In 437 A.H. the Turkmāns advanced in force towards Ghaznī.

¹ So in the lith. ed. and in MSS. B and C. MS. A reads Tajaristān.

² The name is given as in the text in the lith. ed. In MS. A it is given as Suri bin Alma'shr. In MS. B as Suri bin Alma'br, and in MS. C as Suri bin Ima'br.

As they passed through Bast, and destroyed Rabāt Amīr, the army of Ghaznīn met them, and there was a great battle, and many of the Turkmāns were slain. After this victory Tughrāl went towards Garmsīr,¹ and slew the Turkmāns of that country, who were called the Surkh Kulāh (the red caps): and taking a large number of them prisoners, brought them along with him.

In the year 438 A.H. Amīr Maudūd again sent Tughrāl in the same direction, with a very large army. When Tughrāl reached Baknābād,² he showed signs of faithlessness. When news of this came to Amīr Maudūd, he sent men to Tughrāl, to reassure and conciliate him. Tughrāl said in reply to them, that as the men who were in attendance on the Amīr, were hostile to him, he could not come and do homage to the latter. After this, the Amīr sent 'Ali bin Rabi' with two thousand mounted troops to summon Tughrāl. When 'Ali bin Rabi' came to the neighbourhood of the place where Tughrāl was, the latter fled with a few men; and 'Ali coming upon his army routed it; and seizing a certain number took them to Ghaznīn.

The same year, the Amīr sent the Amīr Hājib Buzurg Batabkin³ towards Ghur, and when the latter started on the expedition, he took Shīr⁴ bachah with him, and when they reached the fort of Abu 'Ali they captured it and took Abu 'Ali prisoner. This was a fort which had not been conquered by anybody during seven centuries. Shīr bachah brought Abu 'Ali to Ghaznīn with a yoke on his neck.

The same year Amīr Maudūd sent Amīr Hājib Baitigīn against Bahrām Sāl, who was the leader of the Turkmāns and their armies met and fought in the neighbourhood of Bast, and the Turkmāns were defeated.

¹ So in the lith. ed. MS. A reads Garmīr, MS. B Garmsu or Garmu, and MS. C Garmiraft joining the first letter of the verb raft with the name of the place.

² So in the lith. ed.; MS. A has Tanknābād. MS. B has Baknābād, but the preposition ba or bah which should precede it has been omitted; MS. C has Ekiād. Apparently Tiginibad is meant.

³ So in the lith. ed.; MS. A has Baltigin. MS. B Barabuktin (?) and MS. C Babikin (?).

⁴ So in the lith. ed. and MS. A. MSS. B and C have respectively Sarpanjah and Shir panjah.

In the year 439 A.H. Amīr Kazdar revolted and Amīr Maudūd sent Hājib-buzurg Baitigīn against him and Amīr Kazdar was defeated; and after a time, made his submission and agreed to pay tribute. The Amīr Hājib then returned to Ghaznīn.

In the year 440 A.H. the Amīr sent his two sons Abul Ḳāsim Maḥmud and Maṣṣur, after conferring on them robes of honour, kettledrums and standards on the same day—the former towards Lahore and the latter towards Parsur; and he sent Abu ‘Ali Hasan the Kotwal of Ghaznīn to Hindustan, so that he might mete out punishment to the rebels in that country. Abu ‘Ali advanced to the fort of Māhitah,¹ and when Ahnīn² the ruler of the fort received information of it, he fled alone, leaving his followers behind. The Kotwal sent a messenger to Hajrāi³ the commander of the Hindus who had done meritorious service in the time of Sultan Maḥmūd, and had spent his life in the Sultan’s service, but had afterwards, on account of certain matters, become dissatisfied; and had fled to Hindustan, and was now among the mountains of Kashmir. He gave him many assurances, and summoned him to his presence; and after pledging his faith to him, sent him to Ghaznīn. Amīr Maudūd received him with favour and comforted him.

During the time that the Kotwal Abu ‘Ali was in Hindustān, his enemies, out of the malice which they bore him, represented many things about him to the Amīr in a disagreeable light; and when he came back to Ghaznīn the Amīr ordered him to be imprisoned and made him over to Mirak⁴ Hasan Vakīl. After a few days, while he was in prison, his enemies procured his death; and as they had done this, without the permission of Amīr Maudūd, endeavoured to conceal it from him; and tried, every day, to induce him to undertake a journey, in the hope that if the Amīr should leave Ghaznīn, this deed of theirs would remain concealed. In the end the Amīr started on a journey to Kabul. When he reached the

¹ So in the lith. ed., MS. A reads Māhīlah, MS. B Bāhābilat and MS. C Mahtah.

² So in the lith. ed., MS. A has Ānhā and MS. B and C Āhīn.

³ So in the lith. ed. and in MS. C. MS. A has Bejrāi, and MS. B Sahrāi.

⁴ So in lith. ed., MS. A has Mirak bin Husen, and MSS. B and C, Mirak bin Hasan.

fort of Syamkot,¹ he had an attack of colic, which grew worse day by day. He was therefore forced to return to Ghaznīn. When he arrived there, even when he was still ill, he insisted on Mirak bringing Abu 'Ali Kotwal out of prison and producing him. Mirak Vakīl made various subterfuges² and asked for a week's time; and the week had not expired when Amīr Maudūd died on the 24th Rajab, 441 A.H. The period of his rule extended to nine years. His son Muhammad,³ who was three years of age, was placed on the throne through the exertions of 'Ali bin Rabi'; but after five days there was a change in the views of the nobles, and 'Ali bin Mas'ūd was raised to the Sultanate.

V. 'ALI BIN MAS'ŪD.

When 'Ali bin Mas'ūd was raised to the throne, Abdur Razzāk bin Ahmad Maimandi, who had been nominated by Amīr Maudūd to be governor of Sīstān, reached a fort between Bast and Isfrāin,⁴ and found that Abdur Rashid was imprisoned in that fort by order of Amīr Maudūd. He brought the latter out of the fort, and accepted him as the Bādshāh. He also summoned the troops to do homage to him, and got them all to swear allegiance to him. 'Ali's rule was for a period of about three months.

VI. 'ABDUR RASHID BIN MAS'ŪD.

When he was raised to the throne, he marched towards Ghaznīn with 'Abdur Razzāk and other commanders. When they arrived in the neighbourhood of Ghaznīn, 'Ali bin Mas'ūd fled without giving battle and 'Abdur Rashid became the ruler of Ghaznīn. He sent Tughral Hājib, who was one of the nobles of Sultan Mahmud, to Sīstān, and Tughral conquered that country, and acquired considerable power. He then marched towards Ghaznīn with the intention

¹ So in MS. A. MS. B has Sialkot. MS. C Samkot and the lith. ed. Sankot.

² The lith. ed. reads جهل بيش آورده, having pleaded ignorance, but all the MSS. read حیل instead of جهل.

³ See Tab-i-Nūṣ, trans., p. 97, also note 4 in the same page.

⁴ So in lith. ed., MS. A reads Isfrūr, MS. B Isa'rūr, and MS. C Istkrūr.

of treacherously attacking Amīr ‘Abdur Rashīd. When he arrived in the vicinity of the capital, the Amīr became aware of his treachery, and taking his adherents with him shut himself up in the fort, and Tughral, having seized the city, ordered Amīr ‘Abdur Rashīd and the other descendants of Sultan Mahmud to be slain; except a daughter of Mas‘ūd, whom he married, against her wishes. One day, however, when he was seated on the throne at a public reception, a band of brave men, actuated by hatred for his evil deeds, came in and hacked him to pieces with their swords; and threw his corpse on the dust of wretchedness. His¹ rule lasted for four years.

VII. FARRUKHZĀD BIN MAS‘ŪD.

When Tughral was slain, the nobles and chief men in the state released Farrukhzād who was in imprisonment² and seated him on the throne. The Saljukians came in great force at this time to attack Ghaznīn, and tried to seize it, but Har³ har went forward by order of Farrukhzād to meet them; and many of them were slain; and some of the chiefs were seized and brought before the Amīr who ordered them to be imprisoned. A second time Alb Arslān collected a large army and fought with the army of Ghaznīn, and after inflicting a defeat seized many of the nobles of Ghaznīn and took them away to Khurāsān. At last a treaty was arranged and the prisoners of both sides were released. When Farrukhzād’s rule had extended over a period of six⁴ years, he departed from this perishable world and his brother Ibrāhīm bin Mas‘ūd ruled in his stead.

VIII. IBRAHĪM BIN MAS‘ŪD BIN SULTĀN MAHMŪD.

He was a just and pious king, who was celebrated for his ability and wisdom. He wrote a beautiful hand; and each year

¹ This apparently refers to ‘Abdur Rashīd. According to the Ṭab-i-Nāṣ. the reign of ‘Adur Rashīd extended to a period of two years and a half (p. 99 of the translation) and that of Tughral to forty days.

² In the fortress of Barghand, see p. 101 Ṭab-i-Nāṣ. trans.

³ So in the lith. ed., and in MS. B. MSS. A and C read Khar Khar.

⁴ The Ṭab-i-Nāṣ. says his rule lasted for seven years, but other historians say he ruled for six years: see Ṭab-i-Nāṣ. trans., p. 102, also note. He is also said to have died of colic like Maudūd.

he made a transcript of the Kūrān, and sent it with much treasure to Mecca. In short when he had arranged a pence with the Saljuki-ans, and his mind was relieved of all anxiety in that quarter, he turned his face towards Hindustān and conquered many towns and fortresses there. Among these, there was a very populous town. The residents were descendants of the K̄hurāsānians, whom Āfrāsīyāb had driven out of K̄hurāsān. In that town there was a reservoir the diameter of which was half a farsang (league). Although men and cattle drank the water, no diminution ever took place in it; and owing to the dense jungle round the fort no entrance to or exit from it could be discovered. Farrukhzād conquered such a strong fortress by his strength and vigour, and seized a hundred thousand men, and brought them to Ghaznīn. An estimate of the quantity of the plunder carried away may be made from this. He died in the year 491 A.H.¹ and his rule extended over a period of thirty years, and according to the author of the Banākati to forty-two years.

IX. MAS'ŪD BIN IBRĀHIM.

After his father, he sat in his father's place and was invested with the title of Sultan Jalāluddīn.² Nothing more about his reign has come before my eyes. His reign extended over sixteen years.

X. ARSLĀN SHĀH BIN MAS'ŪD BIN IBRĀHIM.

After his father, he ascended the throne, and in order to give stability to his rule, he seized and imprisoned all his brothers, except Bahrām Shāh, who fled to Sultān Sanjar in K̄hurāsān: and although Sultān Sanjar wrote letters about him, and strongly urged his case, Arslān Shāh did not accede to his request. At last Sultān Sanjar marched against him with a great force, and when he arrived within

¹ According to the Ṭab-i-Nās. (trans., p. 105) he died in the year 492 A.H.

² The Ṭab-i-Nās. gives him the title of 'Alīuddīn, but according to a note of the translator his proper title was Alauddowlah. He appears to have been a just and beneficent ruler. He obtained the title of Karīm, or beneficent, and had a quiet and peaceful reign. At the same time, during his reign the Hajib Tugha-tīgīn is said to have crossed the Gauges to carry on a holy war in Hindustān, and to have penetrated to places which no one, except Sultan Mahmūd, had previously reached with an army.

a league of Ghaznīn, Arslān Shāh marched out with thirty thousand troops, and a great battle took place. Arslān Shāh was defeated and retreated to Hindustan. Sultān Sanjar went into Ghaznīn and remained there for forty days, and after conferring the country on Bahrām Shāh, went back to his own country. When Arslān Shāh heard of the departure of Sultan Sanjar he went back to Ghaznīn from Hindustān with a large army. Bahrām Shāh was unable to meet him in battle, and leaving Ghaznīn went to the fort of Bamiān, and, then, after receiving help and reinforcements from Sultān Sanjar, again marched against Ghaznīn. Arslān Shāh, afraid of Sultān Sanjar's army, evacuated the city and retired to a place of obscurity. The Saljuk army pursued and seized him, and took him to his brother Bahrām Shāh; and he met with death¹ from his brother's hand. His reign lasted for three years.

XI. BAHRĀM SHĀH BIN MAS'ŪD BIN IBRAHĪM.

He was a king who reigned with much pomp and state and used to associate with the learned and wise. Sheikh Ṣanātī wrote verses in his honour, and many books were written during his reign. The "Kalelah, wa dannah" was compiled in his honour; and on the day on which he ascended the throne, Syiad Hasan Ghaznavi recited an ode of which the following are the opening lines:—

A shout from the same seven heavens did come,
 "Great Bahrām Shāh of the world is King!"

He marched into Hindustan with his army and conquered regions which his ancestors had never succeeded in acquiring. He left one of his nobles to govern his Indian dominions, and returned to Ghaznīn. After a long time, that man showed his ingratitude, and took the path of rebellion. Bahrām Shāh hearing of this, turned his face towards Hindustan, in order to destroy the insurgent. When he came to the vicinity of Multan the two armies engaged in a dreadful conflict. The rebel got his deserts, and was seized and slain. The kingdom of Hindustan came for a second time into the

¹ The Tab-i-Nās. gives a different account of his death, see p. 109 of the trans.

possession of Bahrām Shāh. He left the world in the year 517 A.H.¹ His reign extended over a period of thirty-five years.

XII. KHUSRO SHĀH BIN BAHRĀM SHĀH BIN MAS'ŪD BIN IBRĀHĪM.

He became Sultan after his father. As 'Alāuddīn Husen Ghūrī turned his attention towards Ghaznī, Khusrō Shāh fled to Hindustan and established his rule in Lahore. When 'Alāuddīn Husen went back, Khusrō Shāh returned to Ghaznī, but as the Ghazis marched to Ghaznī after seizing Sultan Sanjar, Khusrō Shāh being unable to meet them in the field, again retired to Lahor; and there he died in the year 555 A.H. His² reign extended over a period of eight years.

XIII. KHUSRO MALIK BIN KHUSRO SHĀH.

After the death of his father, he ascended the throne at Lahore. He possessed modesty and patience; but as he was much addicted to pleasure and dissipation, great confusion found its way into the kingdom.

When the king does not his subjects guard
As the shepherd guards his sheep,
Confusion, dire and miseries great
Into the kingdom creep.

When Sultān Mu'izzaddīn Muḥammad Sām made Ghaznī his capital, and advanced with his army into India and reached the neighbourhood of Lahore, with an irresistible power, Khusrō Malik begged for protection, and in the year 583 A.H. surrendered himself into his hands. The Sultān sent him to Ghaznī, where he was made to drink the sharbat of death. The period of his rule was twenty-eight years; and with him the power of the Ghaznawīs came to an end; and dominion passed away from this dynasty.

¹ There is very great discrepancy as to the year of Bahrām Shāh's death. See note 5, p. 112, of Raverty's translation of the *Tab-i-Nās*, in which the dates given in the different histories have been mentioned and discussed.

² The account given above agrees generally with the history of the reign of Khusrō Shāh, given in the *Tuzkīrat-ul-Mulūk*, as quoted by Raverty, in note 3, p. 112, of his translation of the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri*.

SECTION I.—THE SULTĀNS OF DEHLI.

SULTAN MU'IZZUDDIN MUHAMMAD SĀM GHURI.

He has become celebrated as Shihabuddīn.¹ He had a brother named Shamsuddīn, elder than him; who, after he became Sultān, was called Ghiāṣuddīn. After Sultān Ghiāṣuddīn had become Sultān of Ghur, and had conquered various countries, he left his younger brother Mu'izzuddīn at Tiginābād, which is in the Garmsīr country, and when Sultān Mu'izzuddīn became ruler of Tiginābād, he repeatedly sent his troops against Ghaznīn² and raided and devastated the country till the year 569 A.H.; when Sultān Ghiāṣuddīn conquered it, and left his younger brother Mu'izzuddīn Muhammad there.

In the year 570 A.H. Mu'izzuddīn arrived in Ghaznīn as his brother's deputy; and after a year, he marched his troops towards Uchch and conquered Multan from the Schismatics known as the Ḳarāmīta, and took possession of it. The rulers of the Bhātī³ tribe shut themselves up in the fortress of Uchch; but after a few days' fighting, it was taken; and it and Multan were placed in the charge of 'Alī Karmākḥ, and Mu'izzuddīn returned to Ghaznīn.

In the year 574 A.H. he again came to Uchch and Multan; and thence marched towards Gujrat through the desert. Rai Bhīm Deo, who was the ruler of the country, gave him battle; and after a severe struggle, the Sultān was defeated; and after much trouble, he returned to Ghaznīn, and rested there for a short time.

§ Then in the year 575 A.H.⁴ he advanced with his troops towards

¹ He was known as Shihābuddīn before his brother succeeded to the sovereignty of Ghur; after which his title was changed to Mu'izzuddīn. The former title does not occur at all in the Tāj-ul-Maʿāṣir or in the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri. (See note 4, p. 446, and note 3, p. 448, of the Ṭab-i-Nāṣ. trans.).

² Ghaznīn was at this time in the hands of the tribe known as the Ghaz, as it had already been for about twelve years, and it was them that Ghiāṣuddīn defeated. (See Ṭab-i-Nāṣ. trans., p. 377, also note 4).

³ This tribe, the name of which has been variously spelt, had previously been possessed of a great part of Sind (see last para. of note 2, p. 449, of the Ṭab-i-Nāṣ. trans.).

⁴ There is much discrepancy as regards this date. Three authors make it 575 A.H., two 576 A.H., but the majority of historians 577 A.H., while Badāʾunī makes it 580 A.H.: see note 1, p. 452, of the translation of the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri.

Peshāwar, which is celebrated in the old books as Bikrām or Bagrām, or Parsur or Fursbur, and conquered the country around. The next year he went to Lahore; and Sultān Khusrō Malik, who was a descendant of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznīn, and at this time ruled in Lahore, shut himself up in the fort. After some negotiations, Khusrō Malik sent his son with an elephant¹ as tribute, and Sultān Mu'izzuddīn made peace with him and returned.

The next year he advanced to Diwāl, which is another name for Thathah; with his army; and having brought the whole of the country along the coast under his sway, and taking away much booty, returned.

In the year 580 A.H. he again invaded the country of Lahore; and Khusrō Malik again shut himself up. Sultān Mu'izzuddīn plundered the country round Lahore; and laid the foundation of the fort of Sialkot, between the rivers Ravi and Chenab, and after appointing Husen Kharmil to be the warden of the fort returned. After this Khusrō Malik with the help of the Khokhars² and other tribes besieged the fort for a long time; but was unable to take it, and had to retire.

In the year 582 A.H. Sultan Mu'izzuddīn again invaded Lahore. Khusrō Malik again shut himself up in the fort, and attempted to defend himself for some days. Then at last, becoming convinced of his weakness, he hastened to meet the Sultan, who took him with

¹ This elephant has been described by some historians as a renowned one and the finest that Khusrō Malik possessed.

² In the lith. ed. Diwāl is called the bandar or port of Thathah. In MSS. A and C Diwāl is described as another name for Thathah, while MS. B does not mention Thathah at all in connection with Diwāl. According to Major Raverty it is not the same place as Thathah; but is in the Thathah province between Thathah and Karachi (see note 5, p. 295, and note 2, p. 452, of his trans. of the *Tab-i-Nās.*).

³ According to the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri* Mu'izzuddīn did not lay the foundation of the fort of Sialkot; he only restored it. It was a very ancient fort founded by one of the ancient Hindu rulers, but had become dilapidated and Mu'izzuddīn had it restored. (*Tab-i-Nās.* trans., p. 453. also note 4, in the same page).

⁴ The Khokhar must not be confounded with the Gakhars or Khakhars who are a totally distinct race (see last para. note 4, p. 453, of the *Tab-i-Nās.* trans.).

himself to Ghaznīn and then sent him to his brother Ghiaṣuddīn at Firozkoh. The latter imprisoned him in one of the forts of Gharjistan, and he died there, while still under imprisonment.¹ Sultān Mu'izzuddīn placed Lahore under the charge of 'Alī Karmākī who had previously been appointed to be the governor of Multan; and went back to his capital.

In the year 587 A.H. he again invaded Hindustān. Leaving Ghaznīn he came to the fort of Sarhind,² which was at that time the capital of very powerful Rajahs, and conquered it; and having made it over to Ziāuddīn³ Tukalī (or according to others Tulakī), and supplying him with a band of twelve hundred specially selected troopers, and the necessary munitions of war, to guard it, was preparing to depart, when he received information of the approach of Pithora (Prithvī Raj), the Rāj of Ajmir, and went forward to meet him. Then at a place called Tarāin⁴ on the bank of the Sarsuti, which is at seven karohs from Thanewar and is now known as Tarāwari,⁵

¹ This account agrees mainly with that given in the *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ*. (see p. 115 of the translation), but it is said there that *Khusro* Malik was induced to come out of the fort under the faith of a treaty. The fort in Gharjistan, in which he was kept imprisoned, is there called Balarwān. This account however differs considerably from that given by our author himself, in his account of the rule of *Khusro* Malik.

² The lith. ed. and all three MSS. read Sarhind; but according to Major Raverty all the copies of the *Ṭabaḳat-i-Nāṣiri* which he collated and all the older historians read *Tabarhindah* or *Tabarhindh* (see *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ*. trans., p. 457, and also note 3 in the same page).

³ The lith. ed. reads Ziāuddīn Tukal but the MSS. read Ziāuddīn Tukalī (or according to others Tulakī). His correct name according to the *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ*. trans., p. 458, appears to have been Malik Ziyā (or Ziā) uddīn the *Kāẓi* Muhammad-i-Abdus Sallam Nisāwī Tulakī. Major Raverty has explained in note 4 in the same page that he or his family came originally from Nisū and he was *Kāẓi* of Tulak.

⁴ The name of the place is clearly written Tarāin in MS. A. In MS. C it may be Tarāin or Narāin, but in the lith. ed. and in MS. B it is clearly Narāin. The correct name is Tarāin. The mistake has originated, according to Major Raverty, with the translators of Ferishta (see note, p. 459, of the trans. of the *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ*).

⁵ This name appears as Tarāwari in the lith. ed., and in all the three MSS. Major Raverty has identified it with Talawari, which he found mentioned in the account of a personal survey, made by one Mirza Moghal Beg of these parts, about 80 years before the time (1881) when he wrote his translation.

and is situated at a distance of forty karohs from Dehli, there was a great battle, and the army of Islām was vanquished. The Sultān showed great bravery in the battle, and wounded with his lance, in the mouth, Khāndi¹ Rāi, the brother of Pithora, who was the ruler of Dehli, and who mounted on an elephant was leading his troops: and he, in return, struck the Sultān on the arm with his lance and wounded him. The Sultān was about to fall down from his horse, when a young Khalj foot-soldier, seeing his condition, mounted behind him on his horse, and supporting him in his arms, brought him out of the battlefield: and the tumult which had commenced among the soldiers owing to the disappearance of the Sultān subsided. Then, when the Sultān retired to Ghaznī, Rāi Pithora marched to the fort of Sarhind (Tabarhind) which was held by Ziūddīn Tukali, and besieged it for a year and a month, and at last took it after negotiations. In the year 588 A.H. Sultān Mu'izzuddīn again returned to India, and in the very same place of Tarāin, where a battle had formerly taken place, he again met Pithora: and there was another great battle. The Sultān divided his army into four sections, and making a series of attacks, at last vanquished the foe. Pithora was taken prisoner and was slain, and Khāndi Rāi (Gobind Rāi) was killed in the battle. The Sultān then conquered the forts of Sarsuti² and Hānsi: and plundered and ravaged Ajmīr, which was the capital of Pithora: and leaving Malik Kṛtibuddīn Aibak, who was a favourite slave of his, in the town of Kuhrām, which was seventy karohs from Dehli, and after plundering and devastating the country near the Sivalik hills, which are in the Northern side of India, returned to Ghaznī.

The same year Malik Kṛtibuddīn Aibak conquered the forts of

Tarāwari can be easily changed to Talāwari (see note 7, p. 459, of the *Tab-i-Nās*, trans.).

¹ The name is so given in the lith. ed. In the three MSS. it is Khāndah Rāi, Khānda Rāi and Khand Rāi. The oldest copies of the *Tab-i-Nās*, call him Gobind or Gobindah. More modern copies and later historians Khānda or Khāndi. The Hindu bard, Chānd, calls him Rāi Gobind, which appears to have been the correct name. (See note 9, p. 459, of the *Tab-i-Nās* trans.).

² This was a city on the bank of the ancient Saraswati. Ibn Batuta calls Sarsuti a great city. In Akbar's time Sarsuti was one of the mahāls of Sarkar Sambhal.

Dehli and Mirat and took them from the kinsmen of Pithora and Khāndi Rāi. In the year 589 A.H. he seized the fort of Kol and made Dehli his capital, and took up his residence there. He then completely subjugated the country round about Dehli. From this date Dehli became the capital of the Sultāns. The same year Sultan Mu'izzuddīn again left Ghaznīn for the invasion of India, and advanced towards Kannouj; and Rāi Jai Chand, the ruler of that city, who had more than three hundred elephants, advanced against him and gave him battle in the neighbourhood of Chandwār¹ and Itāwah; but was defeated and his elephants and troops fell into the Sultan's hand. The Sultan then went back crowned with triumph and victory to Ghaznīn and carried away much booty, leaving Malik Kutbuddīn in Dehli. The latter took the forts of Thankir,² Gwalior and Badā-ūn, and advancing with his army to Nahrwalah in Gujrāt, inflicted a defeat on Rāi Bhīm Deo, the ruler of that country, in revenge of the defeat he had inflicted on the Sultan; and obtained much plunder. Sultan Mu'izzuddīn was on the frontier of Tūs³ and Sarakhs, when he received intelligence of the death of his elder brother Ghiāṣuddīn, who bore the title of Bādshāh (King), and he came to Badgheis; and after the mourning rites, divided his brother's dominions among the descendants of Sām, in this way, that he conferred the throne of Firozkoh and Ghur on Malik Ziāuddīn the son of his uncle, who was also the son-in-law of Sultan Ghiāṣuddīn; and Bast, and Farah and Isfarain on Sultan Mahmud the son of Sultan Ghiāṣuddīn; and confirmed the possession and rule of Hirat and its dependencies with Nāṣiruddīn Ghāzī, who was the nephew (sister's son) of Sultan Ghiāṣuddīn. He then came to Ghaznīn from Bādghais.

Then with a great army he advanced into Khwārizm for the conquest of that country and the King of Khwārizm fell back dis-

¹ This place has not been identified. Major Raverty says that the only place having a similar name is Chandpur or Chandanpur, in the district of Farukhābād, on the route from Bareilly to Fatehgarh, lat. 27°27', long. 79°42'.

² There is considerable discrepancy among historians as to the date of the taking of Thankir (the Modern Biānah), and as to who took it. See note 3, p. 470, of the *Tab-i-Nās*, trans.

³ He went there to relieve Hirat which had been besieged by the army of Sultan Muhammad Shah of Khwārizm.

confited. When the Sultan reached Khwārizm, and fighting went on for some days, the troops of Khwārizm fought on the bank of the aqueduct which had been dug from the Jeihūn to the east of Khwārizm, and some of the nobles of Ghnr fell in the fight. As the Sultan was unable to conquer Khwārizm he began to retire towards Balkh along the Jeihūn, and the armies of Khitā and the Turkmān Maliks, who had come to the aid of Sultān Muhammad Khwārizm Shāh, came to the bank of the Jeihūn and obstructed the passage of Sultan Mu'izzuddin. When the latter reached Andkhud there was a very severe fight, and the Sultan fought with great prowess and courage, with the hundred mounted men he had with him, and made great exertions: but as he had no power left to withstand the enemy, he shut himself up in the fort of Andkhud; and then after negotiations, he evacuated it, and obtaining a safe conduct returned to Ghaznī.

At this time, a band of Khokhars had revolted in the neighbourhood of Lahore, and the Sultan marched against them; and Kutbuddin Aibak also marched from Dehli to attend on him. After chastising the Khokhars he returned towards Ghaznī; and when he was returning, in a place called Damynk, which is one of the dependencies of Ghaznī, he became a martyr at the hand of certain Khokhar Fidā'is.¹ This quatrain has been written to commemorate the date of the occurrence:—

¹ According to the *Tab-i-Nās*, the Sultan was killed by a disciple of the Mulahidah sect, and as he had undertaken an expedition against them only two or three years before, it is by no means unlikely that they were the assassins. The *Jam-i-tawarikh* like the *Tab-i-Akb.* says that the assassins were Khokhars, but almost immediately afterwards contradicts the statement. The Hindus give a different account, which has been reproduced by Abul Fazl and by a certain history of Jammu or Janmu referred to by Major Raverty. According to their account, the Sultan was killed by an arrow which was shot by Rūi Pithorā who was still a prisoner. Chandā or Chāndā the court poet and enlogist of Pithora induced the Sultan, after exciting his curiosity about Pithoras' skill in archery, to order that the latter should be brought out of prison to show his skill. Instead of aiming at the mark, he transfixed the Sultan who died on the spot, and Rūi Pithorā and Chandā were cut down there and then by the Sultan's attendants. According to the history of Jammu, Rūi Pithorā had been previously blinded, but in spite of this he was guided by the sound of the Sultan's voice, and the indications of Chandā, and succeeded in transfixing the Sultan. See *Tab-i-Nās*, trans., p. 485, note 3.

¹The Martyrdom of the sovereign of sea and land, Mu'izzuddīn,
From the beginning of the world, the like of whom no
monarch arose;

On the third of the month of Shā'bān in the year six hundred
and two,

Happened on the road to Ghaznīn, at the halting place of
Damyak.

The period of his reign from the beginning of his rule in Ghaznīn to the end of his life was thirty-two years and a few months. He left no heir behind him except one daughter. They say that he left much treasure in the shape of gold and silver and gems, including five hundred maunds of diamonds of the most precious kind; and the quantity of other treasures and valuables may be estimated from this. He invaded India nine times; was defeated twice; and was victorious on the other occasions. He was a wise, God-fearing King, who was merciful to the people. He held learned and pious men in honour and rendered services to them.

SULTAN ḲUTBUDDIN AIBAK.

He was a slave of Sultan Mu'izzuddīn. In the beginning when he was brought from Turkistān, Ḳāzi Fakhruddin 'Abdul 'Aziz Kufi who was a descendant of Imām Abu Hanifa Kufi bought him, and he read the Ḳurān with the Ḳāzi's sons, and acquired the polite arts. After that a merchant purchased him at a high price, and took him to Sultan Mu'izzuddīn at Ghaznīn as a specially choiced article. The Sultan bought him from that merchant for a large price. As his little finger was broken, he was called Aibak. He rendered service to the Sultan with discretion and loyalty; so that in a short time he received great distinction. It has been related that one night the Sultan held a great assembly to which he invited those who were nearly and intimately connected with him. In that assembly he gave large rewards to all his adherents and companions. He specially

¹ The translation of the quatrain is Major Raverty's. Some historians make the 1st Shā'bān the date of the assassination. The situation of Damyak is variously given. Some say it was a little west of the Jhilam; some on the Nīlāb, and others that it was a village beyond the Indus on the route to Ghaznīn. See note 5, p. 486, Tab-i-Nūṣ, trans.

distinguished Malik Ḳutbuddīn with liberal rewards and largesses. When the assembly broke up Malik Ḳutbuddīn bestowed all that he had received, in the shape of rewards, to those who spread the carpets and arranged the furniture, and to other menials. The next morning when the Sultan heard this, he was greatly pleased and rewarded Ḳutbuddīn; and raised him to the rank of an Amīr; and honoured him by assigning to him the duties of personally attending before the throne; and his affairs continually became more and more flourishing.

At the time when the Sultans of Ghur and Ghaznīn and Bāmiān advanced with their armies towards Khurāsān in order to conquer Sultan Shah of Khwarizm¹ they took Malik Ḳutbuddīn Aibak with them; and he met the troops of Sultan Shāh near Merv, i.e. near the Mughlab river, and although he fought with great bravery and prowess, he was, owing to the paucity of his followers defeated and taken prisoner; and was taken before Sultan Shah who ordered him to be imprisoned. When afterwards a battle took place between the armies of Ghur and Khwārizm, and the latter was routed, the servants of Sultan Mu'izzuddīn placed Ḳutbuddīn, bound as he was to a board with iron chains, on a camel and took him to the Sultan. The latter showed him great courtesy, and conferred robes of honour and other rewards on him.

Afterwards when the Sultan returned from India to Ghaznīn, he left him at Kuhrām, as his Deputy, and the feats which he performed during the Sultan's lifetime have already been described. After the martyrdom of Sultan Mu'izzuddīn, Sultan Ghiāsuddīn Mahmūd son of Sultan Ghiāsuddīn Muhammad sent, for Malik Ḳutbuddīn, a canopy and the insignia of royalty from Firozkoh, and conferred on him the title of Sultan. The new Sultan came to Lahore from Delhi in the year 602 A.H., and on Tuesday the 18th of Ziḳā'da of the same year he sat on the throne, and unlocking the doors of generosity and benevolence conferred great gifts and largesses; so that he made

¹ The meaning of the passage is not clear. The lithographed edition has Malik Ḳutbuddīn Aibak Turk burdah. MS. A has Malik Ḳutbuddīn ra burdah budand, where the nominative would be Sultans; i.e. the three Sultans of Ghur, Ghaznīn and Bāmiān. MS. B has Malik Kutbuddin ra mardān Yezk burdah budand, where Yezk appears to be a mistake for Turk; MS C has علی, بود which though legible cannot be made sense of.

gifts of lakhs, and bestowed on deserving persons more than they could ever conceive; and on this subject Bahāuddīn Ushī, who was one of the learned men of the age, wrote the following couplet:—

¹ Truly the bestowal of laes, thou in the world didst bring;
Thy hand brought the mine's affairs to a desperate state.
The blood filled mine's heart, through envy of thy hand,
Therefore produced the ruby as a pretext (within it).

People called him Ḳutbuddīn lak-bakhsh (the giver of laks): and up to this day the people of Hindustan, when they praise anybody for his liberality and benevolence, call him Ḳutbuddīn Kal or the Ḳutbuddīn of the age (Kal ² with the Arabic kāf maftūḥ and lam maksur meaning time).

After ³ a time (hostilities arose) between Ḳutbuddīn and Tājuddīn Yelduz, who was also one of the Mu'izzī slaves, and who (after the death of Sultan Mu'izzuddīn) had become the ruler of Ghaznīn and had assumed the title of *badshah*, and the latter marched against Lahore with a hostile intent, and he and Ḳutbuddīn attempted to destroy one another, and the fire of warfare was kindled. After much fighting and bloodshed Tājuddīn was routed and went away to Karmān, and Sultan Ḳutbuddīn proceeded to Ghaznīn and

¹ The translation is Major Raverty's, see p. 572, *Tab ī-Nūṣ*, trans. The mine of ruby is likened to the hearts of other sovereigns which are filled with blood (i.e. bleed) owing to their jealousy of Ḳutbuddīn's liberality, which they could never emulate.

² It is needless almost to say, that Kāl and not Kal means time. The lām Maksur would make the word *Kali*, which would not mean time.

³ This sentence is evidently somewhat mutilated. Neither in the lithographed edition nor in the MSS. are there any words corresponding with "hostilities arose" Then the latter part of the sentence, as given in the lithographed edition, is meaningless. MSS. A and B read bar Sar-i-Lahor mukhasimat raft, while MS. C reads bar Sar-i-Lahor ba Mukhasimat raft. This last is the most correct version. It may be explained that Tājuddīn had found it necessary to retire to the Panjab, which he chose to consider was a portion of his dominions, on Sultan Muhammad Khwārizm Shah having taken possession of Ghaznīn. He reached Lahore, defeated Naṣiruddin Kabājah, and took possession of the Punjab. Ḳutbuddīn then marched into the Punjab and defeated Yelduz, who retired to Karmān. Ḳutbuddīn then marched to Ghaznīn and drove out the governor appointed by Jalaluddin, the son of Sultan Muhammad of Khwārizm.

remained there for forty days, spending¹ the time in amusements and dissipation. As he was constantly taken up with debauchery and drunkenness and totally neglected all affairs of state, the people of Ghaznīn sent an emissary in secret to Sultan Tājuddīn and summoned him, and as the latter arrived suddenly, Sultan Kutbuddīn was taken utterly by surprise and could not encounter him. He had therefore to leave Ghaznīn, and retire by the route of Sang Surākḥ to Lahore. Couplet:—

When the Sultan loses his head with wine
His crown falls off unheeded from his head.

In the year 607 A.H. he fell with his horse while playing Chougān, and the front part of his saddle struck him on the chest and he died. The period of his rule from the date of the conquest of Dehli to the end of his life was twenty years, out of which he ruled independently for four years.

As seven of the slaves and noblemen of Sultan Shihābuddīn (Mu'izzuddīn Muhammad) Sām reached the dignity of independent rule, it appears proper that an account of them should be given here.

SULTAN TĀJUDDIN YELDUZ.

He was a great and benevolent king and possessed laudable qualities and a handsome appearance. He was bought in his youth by Sultan Mu'izzuddīn, who distinguished him by assigning to him duties near his own person, and raised him to high rank. He showed him special kindness and favour among all his slaves. When he was made an Amīr, Karmān² and Shanḡuran were conferred on him as fiefs.

¹ The above is a more truthful record of Kutbuddīn's proceedings during his forty days' rule in Ghaznīn than what is given in the *Tabakat-i-Nasirī*, according to which he bestowed upon God's people abundant benefactions and innumerable favours; and returned again to Hindustan (see *Tab-i-Nāṣ.* trans., p. 527).

² For a complete description of the tract see note 7, p. 498, of Raverty's translation of the *Tab i-Nāṣ.* It appears that it consisted of several darahs or long valleys with hills on both sides and rivers running along the bottoms. The valleys are the Kurma or Kurram Darah which forms the upper portion of this tract, with smaller Darahs on either side, running in nearly transverse directions; the principal of these being the Sanḡuran now called the Shaluzān, Karmān, Zerān, Iriab (vulg. Harriāb) and the Pāiwar. The lower portion of

Whenever the Sultan in the course of his expeditions into India passed through Karmān, Malik Tājuddin feasted all the nobles, and made presents to them of one thousand robes and one thousand caps, and he conferred gifts on every individual of the Sultan's retinue in accordance with his condition. He had two daughters, and under the orders of the Sultan, one of these was married to Sultan K̄utbuddīn Aibak, and the other to Malik Naṣiruddīn Kabajah. Malik Tājuddin had two sons. He made one of them over to a tutor. The latter, in order to chastise the boy, took up an earthen water flask and struck him on the head with it. As the boy was predestined to die then, he died of the effect of that blow. When Malik Tājuddin heard of this, he gave the tutor some money to pay his expenses of travel and sent him away; telling him that he should quickly get out of the way, and undertake a journey to some distant place before the mother of the boy came to know of the mishap. This anecdote furnishes clear evidence of his good nature.

When in the latter part of his reign, Sultan Mu'izzuddīn came to Karmān, he distinguished Malik Tājuddin Yelduz with a special dress of honour and conferred on him a black banner, and it was in his mind that after his death, Tājuddin Yelduz should succeed to the throne of Ghaznīn. When the Sultan died, the Turkish Amīrs and Maliks wanted to summon Sultan Ghiāsuddīn Mahmud bin Muhammad Sām from the Garmsīr country; and place him on the throne of his uncle. This they embodied in a memorial, which they sent to Sultan Ghiasuddīn Mahmūd. The latter wrote in reply that he preferred the throne of his father, i.e. the kingdom of Fīrozkoh and the Ghur country; and he sent a robe of honour to Sultan Tājuddīn, and a letter of manumission; and made the throne of Ghaznīn over to him.

In compliance with this mandate, Malik Tājuddin came to Ghaznīn, and sat on the throne, and brought the territories appertaining to it into his possession; and once afterwards he was driven out of Ghaznīn, but he re-established himself there. He also fought with Sultan K̄utbuddīn Aibak in the Punjab and was defeated by him,

the tract comprises Banu and Marwat. This tract must in ancient times have been exceedingly populous and flourishing, to judge from the remains of several cities still to be seen in it, and is still very fruitful.

and Ghaznī came into the possession of Sultan Ḳutbuddīn; but he again recovered possession of it as has been already mentioned. Then on one occasion he sent troops to Hirat to aid Sultan Ghiā-suddīn [Mahmūd] and defeated the Malik ¹ of Hirat, Izzuddīn Hussen Kharmīl. On another occasion, he marched with his army towards Sīstān ² and besieged that city, and returned after concluding a treaty with Malik Taj Harab. At the time of his return he engaged in hostilities with Malik Nāṣiruddīn Husen, ³ the chief huntsman (of the late Sultan), and was defeated in the battle which took place between them. Then ⁴ after some time he advanced with his troops into Hindustan, and after a battle with Sultan Shamsuddīn in the neighbourhood of Tarāin was taken prisoner. He ruled for a period of nine years.

SULTAN NĀSIRUDDĪN ḲABĀJAH.

He was one of the slaves of Sultan Mu'izzuddīn and became a ruler of consummate intelligence, discretion and penetration. He had served the Sultan in all ranks, and had acquired a perfect knowledge both in military and political affairs. In the war between Sultan Mu'izzuddīn and the army of Khita, Malik Nāṣiruddīn Aitmar, who was the feudatory of Uchch, was martyred, and Malik Nāṣiruddīn

¹ 'Izzuddīn Husen had conspired with Sultan Muhammad Khawārizm Shāh and had gone over to him. When the combined forces of Ghur and Ghaznī came he fled.

² This matter is mentioned thus in the Tab-i-Nās.: "on another occasion Sultan Tājuddīn Yelduz led an army towards Sijistān and remained absent on that expedition for a considerable time, and advanced as far as the gates of the city of Sīstān. At length peace was concluded between him and Malik Tājuddīn-i-Harab, who was the King of Sijistan." Major Raverty says in a note that no historian mentions any reason for Yelduz's marching against Sīstān, and gives any details respecting this affair. Then he hazards a surmise that it might have been caused by the ruler of Sijistān proposing to acknowledge the Suzerainty of Sultan Muhammad Khawārizm Shāh.

³ According to the Ṭabaḳat-i-Nāṣirī Malik Nāṣiruddīn Husen, the Amīr-i-Shikār, showed disaffection towards Tājuddīn Yelduz, and engagements took place between them. Malik Nāṣiruddīn was overthrown and retired towards Khawārizm.

⁴ It appears from the Ṭabaḳat-i-Nāṣirī that he was sent as a prisoner to Badā-ūn, and there he was slain, and there his mausoleum is situated, and has become a place of pilgrimage and is visited by suppliants.

Qabājah was stationed at Uchch in his place. He was the son-in-law of Sultan Qutbuddīn, having married two of his daughters. After the death of Sultan Qutbuddīn, he brought Uchch and Multan, and all the cities and fortresses and country of Sind and Tabarhindah and Kuhrām, as far as the Sarsuti, into his possession; and he obtained possession of Lahore several times. Once he fought a battle with Sultan Tājuddīn Yelduz who came from Ghaznīn; and once he was defeated in a battle with Khwajah Mu'īdul Mulk Sanjari who was the Vazir of the Kingdom of Ghaznīn. When he finally became the ruler of Sind, many of the great men of Khurāsān and Ghur and Ghaznīn, after being overthrown by Chengiz Khān, entered his service; and he conferred favours and gifts on every one of them.

In the year 621 A.H. the Mughals came and besieged the city of Multan for forty days. Sultan Nāsiruddīn opened the doors of his treasury at this time and fostered and cherished the people with rewards and favours, and displayed great prowess and bravery. A year and six months after this, the Khalj¹ and the Khwarizm armies conquered Siwistān, which is also known as Shahsawan. Malik Naṣiruddīn advanced to drive them out and there was a great battle, and in the end the forces of his enemies were routed, and the Khan of the Khalj was slain. Sultan Nāsiruddīn then returned to Uchch and Multan. The remainder of his history has been given in the history of Sultan Shamsuddīn. The period of his rule was twenty-two years.

SULTĀN BAHĀUDDĪN TUGHRAL.

He was one of the bondsmen and afterwards one of the renowned nobles of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Muhammad Sām. He had many praiseworthy qualities and charming moral attributes. When Sultan Mu'izzuddīn Muhammad Sām conquered the fort of Thankir,² and placed it in charge of Malik Bahāuddīn Tughrāl, the latter

¹ See Tab-i-Nās. trans., p. 539, where it is said that it was a body of this tribe of Khalj and a portion of the army of Khwārizm that overran the district of Mansurah in Siwistan.

² The lithographed edition and MSS. A and B read Bhakar but from the context this cannot be correct. MS. C is correct and reads Thankir. There is a great deal of confusion about the date and the circumstances connected with the conquest of this fort. See Tab-i-Nās. trans., p. 515, and note 5.

built a fort ¹ in the country of Biānah and took up his residence there, and he constantly rode towards Gwalior and raided the neighbourhood of that place. Sultan Mu'izzudīn Muhammad Sām at the time when he was returning from Gwalior told Tughrāl, that if the fort should be conquered, it would be conferred on him. So the latter built a strong fort within two leagues of Gwalior and taking up his residence in it with his troops, he constantly ravaged the surrounding country. When a year passed in this way, and the garrison of Gwalior was reduced to great distress, they sent envoys to Sultan Kutubuddīn Aibak with presents and offerings; and surrendered the fort to him. This became a cause of hostility between Sultan Kutubuddīn Aibak and Malik Bahāuddīn Tughrāl. In a short time (after this, the latter) died.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RULE OF IKHTIYARUDDIN MUHAMMAD BAKHTIYAR KHILJĪ.

He was one of the great men of the country of Ghur and Garm-str. He was largely endowed with liberality and bravery and wisdom. In the time of Sultan Mu'izzuddīn Muhammad Sām, he came to Ghaznī. Thence he came to India and joined the service of Malik Mu'azzam Husamuddīn Aghulbak who held in fief some pergasas in the Doab and beyond the Ganges. After he had repeatedly shown signs of courage and prowess the fiefs of Kampilah ² and Patiali

¹ Which he named Sultan kot. *Tab-i-Nās.* trans., p. 545.

² These names are given as in the text, or slightly differently, in the lithographed edition as well as in the three MSS. Major Raverty has however found that they were written as Bhagwat or Bhugwat and Bhioli or Bhiwali in the oldest copies of the *Tab-i-Nās.*; and he has also found that two pergasas still bear these names between the Ganges and the Karmanūsa, to the eastward of and adjoining Chumargarh, and he is therefore of opinion that these were their correct names. He finds a corroboration of the idea that the fiefs were situated in that part of India from the fact that places bearing the names given by others to the fiefs, which in their modern anglicized form are Pateetah and Kuntal (or Kuntal), are situated not far from Perganas Bhagwat and Bhioli. Some later writers (the author of the *Tab-i-Akb.* among them) have given the fiefs the name of Patiali and Kampila, but these places are more than three degrees west and the same distance north of the places mentioned in the oldest copies of the *Tab-i-Nās.*, and from the place where the fiefs appear to have been actually situated, to enable their being made the base of Ikhtiyāruddīn's raid's into Behar.

were conferred on him; and he was very active and bold in making raids and in otherwise exerting himself. He constantly marched towards Behar and Muner,¹ and raided that tract and acquired much booty. When Sultan Kutbuddin heard of his deeds of boldness and intrepidity, he sent an imperial robe of honour and standard for him; and Malik Ikhtiyaruddin, having with the help, and favour, and encouragement of the Sultan, conquered the fort of Behar, plundered and ravaged the whole of that country, and acquired much booty. He made the inhabitants of the country who were all old and ascetic Brāhmans, and had their heads shaven, food for his merciless sword. In the language of Hindustan, a college is called a Behar,² and as this province had formerly been a mine of learning, it had got the name of Behar.

After this, when Ikhtiyāruddin joined the service of Sultan Kutbuddin, he received many benefactions and favours from him, so much so, that he became the subject of the envy of the other nobles; and the latter, who could not endure to see so many favours showered on him, uttered words in the Sultan's presence, expressive of their contempt and hatred of him. It happened one day that Sultan Kutbuddin held a court in the white castle and received the great nobles. A must³ (rampant) elephant was brought there, and the people said that there was not another elephant in the whole of India that could stand in front of it, and could withstand a shock from it. The Sultan made a sign to Muhammad Bakhtiyār to fight with that elephant, when the latter struck such a blow with the mace, which he had in his hand, on its trunk, that it at once turned round and fled discomfited. The Sultan on seeing this was struck with amazement; and he conferred many rewards and favour on Ikhtiyāruddin, and entrusted the rule of the country of Lakhnauti to him, and nominated him for the duty of conquering it. As he had already conquered the fort of Behar, the fame of his bravery and prowess had reached the people of Lakhnauti. All the Brāhmans and astro-

¹ A very old place, at the confluence of the Sone with the Ganges, on the right bank of the former.

² Sanskrit vihāra a monastery.

³ The different versions of this anecdote have been given in the *Tab-i-Nūṣ*, trans., p. 554, and in note 5, p. 553.

logers went to Lakhmania¹ son of Rai Lakhman, whose capital was at Nudiar, and whom all the Rāis of Hindustan considered to be their leader² and guide, and held in great honour and reverence; and explained to him that it was noted in their ancient books, that the country would come into the possession of the Turks, i.e. the Musalmāns, and that the prophecy was about to be fulfilled, as the Turks had taken possession of Behar, and the next year they would take the whole of his kingdom into their possession. Lakhmania asked, whether any particular sign, by which the man who would conquer the realm could be identified, was noted in their astrological books? They answered, 'Yes, when the man should stand upright on his two feet, and stretch his arms downwards, the tips of his fingers would reach beyond his knee caps.' Rai Lakhmania sent men to ascertain whether these indications were to be found in the commander of the Turks. When it was known that these indications were correct, all the Brahmans and astrologers left the country, and went away to the courts of Kamrud and Jagarnath. Rai Lakhmania did not consider it advisable to leave his kingdom. The next year Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyār started from Behar, and with a small force reached the city of Nudiar by successive rapid marches. Lakhmania in great confusion embarked in a boat and escaped; and all his treasure and the paraphernalia of state, which were beyond the bounds of all account and calculation, fell into Muhammad Bakhtiyār's hands. The latter devastated the city of Nudiar, and in place of it, founded another city, which has become Lakhnauti; and made it his capital, and today that city is in ruins and is known as Gour.

In short, Muhammad Bakhtiyār assumed the canopy, and had prayers read, and coin struck in his own name; and founded mosques and Khānkahs³ and colleges, in the place of the temples of the heathen; and he sent many precious articles for the acceptance of Sultan Kutbuddin Aibak, out of the booty which he had acquired.

¹ The name is given in the lithographed edition as Lakhmanesh, and in the MSS. as Lakhmania, Lakhmani sah and Lakhmah.

² It has been suggested that he was their spiritual guide, because he evidently did not possess such power as to entitle him to be described as lord paramount. There is no reason however to hold that he was specially honoured as the spiritual guide or head of all the rulers of India. Probably he was held in great honour on account of his age and character.

³ Asylums for darwashes or religious mendicants.

After the lapse of a further period, when his power and grandeur had reached a stage of perfection, the determination to conquer Tibbat and Turkistan, found a way into his mind, and he advanced towards those countries with twelve thousand well armed and well equipped mounted troops, taking Amir 'Ali Mej, who had been converted by him to Islam, as his guide. He reached a city which bore the name of Bardhan;² and in front of that city there was a river, which in depth and width was four times the size of the Ganges, and the name of that river was the Begmati.³ They say that when Shāh Karshāsp returned from the country of Turkistan, towards Hindustan, by way of Bardhan, he erected a bridge over this river, and passed over it and came towards Kāmrud. In short, when Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyār reached the head of that bridge, he left two of his trustworthy companions there, in order to guard it, while he himself crossed over and entered the country of Tibbat. Then he traversed high and impassable mountain ranges for ten days;⁴ and

¹ The lithographed edition calls him Amir 'Ali Sheikh; the MSS. are not very distinct, but I think they read Mej. To this day a portion of the Mongol aborigines in the N. and N. E. of Bengal are called by the name of Mech or Mej (see note 4, p. 560, *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ.* trans.).

² The name of the city according to the *Ṭabākat-i-Nāṣiri* (p. 561 of the trans.) was Bardhan Kot.

³ The lithographed edition and two of the MSS. say that the name of the city شهر is Tamkadi or Namkadi or something like that. MS. C is correct so far as it substitutes the word نهر for شهر, but it calls the *Nahr*, Nenkadi. Major Raverty (see note 1, p. 561 of his trans. of the *Ṭab-i Nāṣ.*) says that the name of the river is given in the best and oldest copies of the *Ṭabakat-i-Nāṣiri* as Begmati, but some others, the next best copies, have Beghati, Bākmati or Bagmati, and others have Bangmati, Magmandi and Nangmati or Nagmati. Bāgmati, as he says, is not an uncommon name for a river, and is applied to more than one. The river of Nepal which lower down is called the Grandhak (sic) is called Bāgmati. The men who copied the *Ṭab-i-Akbari* have gone further astray than those who copied the *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ.*

⁴ The *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ.* makes the march a much longer one. According to it, the army marched for ten days up the river among the mountains, and then crossed it by a bridge of hewn stones, which had been built in remote times and consisted of upwards of twenty arches. After passing over the bridge, the army marched for a period of fifteen days through defiles and passes, ascending and descending among lofty mountains. On the sixteenth day the open country of Tibbat was reached. It was here that the fort of great strength was situated.

then reached a place where there was a lofty fort extremely strongly built and almost impregnable. The garrison came out to give battle, and the battle and slaughter went on to the end of the day, and many of Muhammad Bakhtiyār's soldiers were killed or wounded. When night came on, he encamped round the fort and remained there. He then made ¹ enquiries about the country and its peculiarities, and it became certain that five leagues from this place, there was a city called Karamsen ² where there were fifty thousand blood-thirsty Turkish spearmen.³ As the army of Islam was worn out with fatigue after its long journey, and did not have the strength to encounter and overcome such a force on hearing this news, Bakhtiyār left the place, and returned to the head of the bridge of Bardhan.

He found that two of the arches of the bridge were, owing to the dissensions between the two Amīrs, left in charge of it, broken.⁴ He was thunderstruck, and determined that the army should fortify itself in some strong place, till boats could be built, and all the other preparations made for crossing the river. The scouts brought the information that there was a temple in the neighbourhood, which was very strong and lofty. Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyār with all his

¹ The *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ*. says that the information was obtained from such of the garrison as were taken prisoners.

² The name of the city is clearly Karamsen in the lithographed edition and in MSS. B and C. It is Karaman in MS. A. Major Raverty says that the oldest copies of the *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ*. have Karbattan, Karpattan, or Karārbattan, or Karārpattan; other copies have Karampattan. The *Zubdat-ut-tawārikh* has Karshin or Karantan. Other works have Karam Sin. He hazards a surmise, that the place may be identical with Dharampattan, which was the ancient name of Bhātīghun, the Benares of the Gurkha dominions, which was once a large place, or with Lalitapattan which was in ancient times the seat of an independent ruler; and lies near the Bagmadi river; but both these places are too far south and west to be the city here indicated.

³ The lithographed edition and two of the MSS. have spearmen, MS. A has archers.

⁴ The meaning of course is that the Amīrs had quarrelled, and had not guarded the bridge; and the people of the country had broken down two of the arches. The *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ*. says that the Amīrs had, owing to their disputes, neglected to secure the bridge, and to protect the road, and the Hindus of the Kāmruḍ country had come and destroyed the bridge. The *Zubdat-ut-tawārikh* says that the two Amīrs, to spite each other, abandoned guarding the bridge, and each went his own way; Badāuni says they first fought, and afterwards abandoned the bridge.

noblemen went into it and fortified themselves. At this time the Rāi¹ of Kāmruḍ came to know that Muhammad Bakhtiyār had taken shelter in the temple, in a state of great distress and misery. He issued orders throughout his dominions, and the people came in great crowds and planted² spiked bamboos into the ground, all round the temple, and wove them together; and placed them upright on the wall of the temple. When Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyār saw himself caught in this snare of danger, he came out of the temple and encamped on the bank of the Bagmati; and occupied himself with preparations for crossing the river. Suddenly a horseman waded into the water to the distance of the flight of an arrow; and the soldiers thought that the river could be forded. They all at once struck into the water; but as it was not fordable beyond the point to which the horseman had waded, many were drowned. May the mercy of God be upon them! After many of the soldiers had been drowned, Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyār crossed the river, with a few, with great difficulty and arrived at Deukot.³

Bakhtiyār fell ill on account of the great grief and anxiety which oppressed his mind. He said to his adherents, "Perhaps some great calamity has overtaken Sultān Mu'izzuddin Muhammad Sām, that I have fallen on evil days and fortune has left me stranded." It so happened that in these very days Sultān Mu'izzuddin attained to martyrdom. Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyār died of this same malady, and journeyed to the abode permanent. It is said that one of his great nobles, whose name was 'Alī Mardān, came to Deukot from his fief of Barsoli,⁴ when he heard of the catastrophe

¹ This is the first mention of the Rāi of Kāmruḍ (Kamrup) in the *Ṭab-i-Akb.*, but according to the *Ṭab-i-Nās.* he sent men to Muhammad Bakhtiyār, when the latter crossed the river, on his way to Tibbat, and tried to dissuade him from undertaking the expedition that year; and promised that he would himself precede the Musalman army next year with his own forces and assist Bakhtiyār to acquire the country.

² This is the only meaning, which the passage, as given in the lith. ed. and in the MSS., which agree except in respect to one word, can bear; but the meaning apparently is that the people made a bamboo stockade round the temple.

³ In what is now the Dinajpur district. Those who escaped, appear to have crossed the river on rafts.

⁴ The name of the fief is given as Barsol or Barsul in the lith. ed. In the

which had overtaken his chief. At this time the latter was lying on the bed of sickness. No one went near him. ‘Ali Mardān went to him; drew off the sheet from his face; and with one blow of his dagger killed him. This happened in the year 602 A.H.

‘IZZUDDIN MUHAMMAD SHERWĀN.¹

He and his brother² were among the great nobles of Muhammad Bakhtiyār. This Muhammad Sherwān was very brave and active and shewd: so much so, that on the day on which Muhammad Bakhtiyār captured the city of Nudiar and routed Lakhmania, and dispersed his forces, Muhammad Sherwān, single-handed, captured eighteen elephants with the drivers in a forest, and guarded them there. After three days, when Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyār heard of this, he sent a body of horsemen, who drove the elephants before them; and brought them before him.

When Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyār marched with his army towards Tibbat and Kāmruḍ, he sent Muhammad Sherwān and his brother, with a body of his own troops, in the direction of Jājnagar. After Muhammad Bakhtiyār had met with his great catastrophe, Muhammad Sherwān and his brother came from Jājnagar to Deokot and performed the mourning rites (for Muhammad Bakhtiyār), and they³ went from there to Barsoli with a body of the Jājnagar army;

MSS. it is written as Barsoli or Barsūli or Parsūli. It appears that in the oldest and best copies of the *Ṭab-i-Nāṣirī*, it is written as Nurankoo.

¹ The name is given as Shirwān or Sherwān in the lith. ed. and in two of the MSS. without an *ی* after the *ش*. In the third MS. there is an *ی*. The name is given as Sherūn in the *Ṭabakat-i-Nāṣirī*. Major Raverty says however that some other authors have written it as Sherwān. He says that Sherūn is plural of Sher, lion, tiger, and the plural is intended to express the superlative degree, so that Sherūn means very brave lion or tiger.

² The lith. ed. and MS. A speak of the brothers of Muhammad Sherwān, i.e. according to them he had more than one brother, MSS. B and C always speak of his brother in the singular. The *Ṭabakat-i-Nāṣirī* says distinctly, that there were two brothers, Muhammad Sherwān or Sherūn and Ahmad Sherwān or Sherūn.

³ The lith. ed. and MS. C say that Muhammad Sherwān alone went to Bārsol or Pārsol. MS. A says that Muhammad Sherwān and his brothers with a body of the Jājnagar army went. MS. B is confused for after saying that Muhammad Sherwān and his brother came from Jājnagar to Deokot and per-

and seized 'Ali Mardān, who had assassinated Muhammad Bakhtiyār; and imprisoned him, and made him over to a Kotwāl (Police Superintendent or Jailor) who was called Bābā Kotwāl Iṣfūhānī; after which he returned to Deokot, when all the Khalj nobles acknowledged him as their head, and did homage to him.

'Ali Mardān, however, gained over Bābā Kotwāl; and escaping from prison, went to Dehli, and joined the service of Sultān Kuṭbuddīn Aibak, and made certain representations to him. In consequence of this, Sultān Kuṭbuddīn sent Ḳaimāz Rūmī¹ to Lakhnauti, and ordered that he should station each of the Khalj nobles, who were in those parts, at a suitable place. Ḳaimāz Rūmī went, and in accordance with the Sultan's order, posted each one of the Khalj nobles at a suitable locality. Malik Hisūmuddīn 'Iwaz Khalji, who from before the time of Muhammad Bakhtiyār held the fief of Kalwāi,² hastened forward to receive Ḳaimāz Rūmī and accompanied him to Deokot, which was assigned to him as his fief. When Ḳaimāz Rūmī returned from Deokot towards Audh, Malik Muhammad Sherwān and all the Khalj nobles who were with him marched to Deokot. When Ḳaimāz Rūmī heard this, he returned and gave battle to the Khalj nobles. The latter were defeated and went away in the direction of Tūs,³ and there hostilities broke out among them and Muhammad Sherwān attained martyrdom. His grave is there.

'ALI MARDAN KHALJI.

[He] was celebrated and notorious for activity, and bravery, and pride, and high spirit. When he escaped from prison and joined Sultān Kuṭbuddīn, he attended the latter, when he went to Ghaznīn. He was there captured by the Turks, and was taken to Kāshghar, and remained there. They say that one day Sultān Tājuddīn Yelduz went out to hunt. 'Ali Mardān also accompanied him. He then

formed the funeral rites there, it goes on to say that they went from Jājnagar to Bārsol.

¹ Major Raverty explains Rūmī as native of Rumilia. Rūmī, however, ordinarily means a Turk who comes from Constantinople, or any other part of European Turkey.

² The Ṭabaḳat-i-Nāṣirī gives the name of the fief as Kankuri or Kaskuri.

³ The lith. ed. and MSS. A and B read Tūs. MS. C reads Sanṭūs. The Ṭabaḳat-i-Nāṣirī says that it was in Maksada and Sanṭūs that disagreement

spoke to one of the Khalj nobles who was called Sālār Zafar¹ and said, "How would it be if I finished Sultān Tajuddīn with my spear² and made thee the bādshāh?" Sālār Zafar was a wise and righteous man, and did not have the lust of empire in his heart. He forbade 'Alī Mardān's doing such an evil deed, and giving him two Arab horses, sent him away towards Hindustān.

When he again reached the court of Sultān Kutbuddīn and joined his service, he was honoured with various favours and gifts, and the dominion of Lakhnauti was given to him in Jāgīr; and he started on his journey to that place. After he had crossed the Kusi. Malik Hisāmuddīn Iwaz Khaljī advanced from Deokot to meet him. On arrival at Deokot, he was placed on the seat of power; and took possession of the entire country of Lakhnauti. After Sultān Kutbuddīn had been united with the Divine Mercy, he assumed the royal canopy and had the Khuṭba read and Sikka struck in his own name; and took the title of Sultan 'Alāuddīn. He had so much pride and hanteur that he distributed the kingdoms of Irān and Turān among his nobles; and he was such an oppressor and tyrant, that no one had the hardihood to tell him that these countries were outside his dominions.

When evil thou hast done, think not thyself from danger safe;
For nature herself, for evil done, doth punishment provide.

When his tyranny and oppression exceeded all bounds the Khalj nobles conspired together and slew him.

It has been reported that there was a merchant smitten with calamity, who complained to him of his poverty. He asked, 'Whence is this man?' They said, 'from Isfāhān.' He ordered a decree to be written assigning Isfāhān to him as his fief. The merchant did not accept the decree. The Ministers were afraid to bring this to the notice of the Sultān; but they represented to him, that the new ruler of Isfāhān had no funds for the expenses of the

arose among the Khalj nobles. Major Raverty says, that Maksidah or Maksidah (Sic in note) may be the Maxadabad of the old Maps and old travellers. He also says that the Ṭabaḳat-i-Akbarī has Sanṭūs only, thus confirming MS. C. See Ṭab-i-Nāṣirī trans., p. 576, and note 4.

¹ Major Raverty thinks that this name should be pronounced Zaffir.

² The lith. ed. and the MSS. all read نيز spear. The Ṭabaḳat-i-Nāṣirī reads arrow (see p. 577 of the trans.).

journey and of levying an army to bring the territory into his possession. Upon this he gave an order for giving him such a large amount as was beyond all his expectation.

After he had been put to death, the Amīrs combined together and placed Malik Hisāmuddīn 'Iwaz Khaljī on the throne.

'Ali Mardān ruled for two years.

MALIK HISĀMUDDĪN 'IWAZ KHALJĪ.

[He] was one of the nobles of the Khalj tribe, living in the Garmsir country; and had praiseworthy qualities and beneficent attributes. When he left his own country and arrived at an elevated spot in Turkistān, which was called Pushtah-i-Fīroz,¹ two men dressed in ragged and patched cloaks, who were completely destitute of all provisions for a journey, and were traversing mountains and deserts, depending merely in the help of God, arrived there. They said to Malik Hisāmuddīn, "Master! hast thou got any provisions?" Malik Hisāmuddīn placed before them some cakes of bread, with some delicate condiments. The Darwishes ate with great relish and said, "Master, thou shouldst go to Hindustān, for a kingdom hath been assigned to thee out of the regions of that country."

Couplet.

One dressed in garments coarse, that on the ground doth lie,
On a suppliant confers the kingdom of Zohak.

Malik Hisāmuddīn accepted this good news as a true prophecy in his favour; came to Hindustān; and joined the service of Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyār; till the Almighty Giver of kingdoms made him the ruler of the country of Lakhnauti and he was named Sultān Ghiāsuddīn. Under his just rule, the soldiers and the people all lived in happiness and contentment. Many marks of the holy beneficence of that king of auspicious attributes have been left on

¹ It is so called in the lith. ed. and in MSS. A and B. MS. C calls it Pushtah Afroz. This is also the name given in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nūṣīrī* (p. 580). Pushtah-i-Fīroz would mean the mound of victory, while Pushtah Afroz according to Major Raverty means the burning mound. This is, however, scarcely correct. Afroz affixed to a word means what burns or inflames or brightens the thing which is connoted by the word to which it is affixed. Dilafroz means what inflames, or excites the heart, and not burning heart; so "Shabafroz."

the pages of time, which testify to the excellence of his intentions. The countries of Bangālāh, Tirlm, Kāmṛūd and Jājnagar all paid him revenue or tribute.

In the year 622 A.H. Sultan Shamsuddin invaded Bangālāh and the two armies met¹ and a treaty was concluded. Ghiāsuddīn gave thirty-eight elephants, and eighty laks of tangahs² to Sulṭān Shamsuddīn and read the Khutbah in his name. When Sulṭān Shamsuddīn returned to Dehli he entrusted the government of Behār to Malik 'Alāuddīn Khānī; but afterwards Ghiāsuddīn went from Lakhmanti to Behār and recovered possession of it, and remained in possession till the year 624 A.H., when Malik Nāṣiruddīn Mahmūd, son of Sulṭān Shamsuddīn, came from Audh to Lakhmanti, with a large army, at the instigation of Malik Khānī. At that time Ghiāsuddīn 'Iwaz had marched toward Kāmṛūd from Lakhmanti with a large army. Malik Nāṣiruddīn Mahmūd took possession of Lakhmanti. Ghiāsuddīn 'Iwaz returned and gave battle, but was taken prisoner with many of his nobles and was slain.

¹ There could not have been a regular battle. There might have been only a skirmish. According to the *Ṭabakāt-i-Nāṣiri* the armies did not meet as Sultan Ghiāsuddīn moved his vessels (war boats) up the river, while according to another writer he removed and secured all the boats on the river, so that Altamash could not cross the Ganges (see *Ṭabakāt-i-Nāṣiri*, trans., p. 593, also note 6).

² The word tangah signifies a thin plate, leaf or slice of gold or silver. It is difficult to find out the exact value of a tangah. There were gold and silver tangahs. According to Ferishta who copied the *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* a gold tangah was a tola of gold, stamped, and a silver tangah was equal to fifty pūds. A pūd (i.e. a piece of any thing orbicular) of copper (bronze?) being called a pīṭ, the weight of which was, however, not known exactly. According to other writers a tangah was either the fifth, tenth or hundredth of a rūpī. As to the rūpī it appears that four Dīnars = a Gandah, twenty gandas = one anna and sixteen annas one rūpī; but the value of these denominations is not known and probably varied a good deal at different periods. The *Ṭabakāt-i-Nāṣiri* says the tribute consisted of eighty lakhs of *treasure*. The *Tazkirat-ul-muluk* is more definite; it says eighty laks in silver tangahs.

³ The name is so given in the lith. ed. and in all these MSS., but the second word may be read in the MSS. as *Khānī* or *Jānī*. In the *Ṭabakāt-i-Nāṣiri* (trans., p. 594) the name is Malik Izzuddīn Jānī, but it is said in note 1 in the same page that he is called elsewhere in the work, and in some copies of the text in that particular passage also, as well as in other works, by the name of 'Alāuddīn Jānī.

They say that when the auspicious Sultān Shamsuddin Altamsh (may God make his grave fragrant!) came after the death of his son Malik Nāṣiruddin Mahmūd to Lakhnauti, in order to quell the rebellion of ¹ Malik Ikhtiyāruddīn, and saw the marks of beneficence which had been left behind by Malik Hisāmuddīn 'Iwaz Khalji with an eye of respect, he said with the justice, which was always a characteristic of his esteemed personality, that there was no objection in giving the title of Sultān to a man who had done so much good and performed such noble deeds.

His reign extended to a period of twelve years.

SULTĀN ĀRĀM SHĀH BIN ²SULTĀN ḲUṬBUDDĪN. ✓

When Sultān Ḳuṭbuddīn departed from this world, as the world can not go on without a ruler, the nobles and the high officers of State, in accordance with the law of inheritance, placed Ārām Shāh except whom he had no other son, on the throne of Lahore; and sending out orders and decrees in all directions and districts, proclaimed the glad tidings of his justice and impartiality. While this was being done, the Sipāh Sālār (commander of the forces), 'Ali Isma'el,³ who was the Governor of the province of Dehli, in com-

¹ This was Malik Ikhtiyāruddīn Daulat Shah-i-Balka who according to some writers was a son of Ghiasuddin, and according to others a kinsman of his, who regained and ruled the territory for a time (see Ṭab-i-Nāṣ., p. 594, note 1).

² As to whether Ārām Shāh was Ḳuṭbuddīn's son, see note 4, p. 520, Ṭab-i-Nāṣ. trans. Some writers say that Ārām Shāh was Ḳuṭbuddīn's son; others say that the latter had no offspring, besides his three daughters. Ārām Shāh was probably Ḳuṭbuddīn's adopted son. Abul Fazl makes the astonishing statement that he was Ḳuṭbuddīn's brother.

³ This name is given in all the three MSS. The lith. ed. makes it Amīr 'Ali Isma'el in one place and Amīr Ali Dad or Wad in another. Major Raverty in note 4, p. 529, of his trans. of the Ṭab-i-Nāṣ. calls him the Amīr-i Dad, which would mean the Lord Chief Justice, but he also says that he has been called Amīr Dā'ūd by some; and he also calls him the governor of the city or province of Dehli, i.e. the Amīr Diyār Dehli. The Sipah Salar and the Amīr-i-Dad are not mentioned together in the Ṭabakāt-i-Akbari except in one place in two of the MSS., where the lith. ed. has ديد and the third MS. د's instead of د's, and it cannot be said with certainty whether they were the same person or two different persons. According to note 4, p. 529, Ṭab-i-Nāṣ. trans., they appear to have been two distinct persons, but according to the trans., p. 605, they were

bination with some other nobles, sent a messenger to summon Malik Altamsh, who was a slave, as well as the son-in-law of Sultān Kutbuddin, and to whom the latter had given the name of son also: and who was at the time the governor of Budā-ūn, and begged him to accept the sovereignty. Malik Altamsh came to Delhi and took possession of it. Ārām Shāh, who was in the vicinity of Delhi, gave assurances to the nobles and soldiers of his father and collecting them in a body came to Delhi. Malik Altamsh arrayed his forces on the plain of Jūd and gave battle. Ārām Shāh¹ was defeated.

Sultān Kutbuddin had three daughters. Two of them were married in succession to Malik Nāṣiruddin Kabājah, and one to Malik Altamsh.

After the death of Sultān Kutbuddin, Malik Nāṣiruddin Kabājah went in the direction of Sind, and took possession of Multān, Uchh, Bhakar and Siwastān. Delhi came into the possession of Malik Altamsh, with the help of the Amir-i-Daud and other nobles, and the country of Lakhnauti and Bangālāh was in the possession of Malik Hisāmuddin Khalj.

Ārām Shāh's reign did not extend² to one year.

one and the same. Major Raverty has noticed the fact that the command of troops seems incompatible with the duties of a judge, though he says that the siph Sūlār may have heard and disposed of suits with the aid of Kāzīs and Muftis. This is rather fat-fetched. Besides the same person was also the Governor of the city or province of Delhi.

¹ What became of Ārām Shāh after his defeat is not clear. Major Raverty has adopted the reading of the passage in the Tab-i-Nūṣ, about the death of Ārām Shāh, according to which the latter was martyred or put to death. He says, however, in a note that all the modern copies of the text and one of the oldest also, say instead, that "the decree of destiny reached Ārām Shāh," which would leave it somewhat doubtful as to whether he died a natural or a violent death.

² Others contend that his reign extended over a period of three years. Major Raverty says that the inscriptions on two coins of Ārām Shāh and Altamsh, of which the former was struck in the year 607 A.H., and the latter in the year 612 A.H., and which is described in the coin as "the first of his reign," corroborates the statement of those who say that Ārām Shāh's reign extended over three years. It does not appear, however, that anyone says it extended to five years, 607 to 612 A.H. On the other hand, it is distinctly stated both in the Tab-i-Nūṣ, and in the Tab-i-Akb. that Altamsh ascended the throne at Delhi in 607 A.H.

§ SULTĀN SHAMSÜDDIN¹ ALTAMSH.

There is a tradition that his father was named Ilam Khān, and he was the chief of a group of the tribes of Turkistan. His brothers, and according to another tradition his nephews, owing to the jealousy and hatred which they bore him in his youth, took him, like Yusuf (of old), to some gardens and fields for amusement; and then sold him by force to a merchant. The merchant took him to Bukhārā; and sold him to one of the great men² of that city. For some time he received kindly treatment and training in a family of generous people. Then as was predestined, a merchant named Hāji Bukhārī bought him and sold him again to Jamāluddīn Chust Qabā. The latter took him to Ghaznīn. As in those days no Turkish lad of a more handsome face, and with greater intelligence, had come to Ghaznīn, people spoke about him to Sultān Muḥammad Sām. The Sultān ordered that a price should be settled for him. There was another slave called Aibak with him. The price of each of them was fixed at one thousand Rukni Dinārs.³ Khwājah Jamāluddīn objected to sell him at that price. The Sultān ordered that no one should purchase him, and the sale should remain in abeyance. After a year Khwājah Jamāluddīn went towards Bukhārā and took Altamsh with him. When he came back he remained in Ghaznīn for a year. People dared not buy Altamsh without the Sultān's order, till Sultān⁴ Kutbuddīn

¹ I have adopted this form of the name in preference to Iyal-timish; for whatever may have been the spelling and pronounciation of the name in Turkish the spelling in Persian histories is النشي.

² According to the Tab-i-Nūṣ., he was sold to one of the kinsmen of the Sadr-i-Juhān (the chief ecclesiastic) of Bukhara (see p. 602 of the trans.).

³ The Tabakāt-i Nūṣiri says that the sum of a thousand dinars of pure Rukni gold was specified for the two (p. 601 of the trans.), but it appears from a note that some copies have two thousand instead of one. This would agree with the Tab-i-Akb. which says distinctly that one thousand Rukni Dinārs was fixed as the price of each. The next sentence which is almost identical in the Tab-i-Nūṣ. and the Tab-i-Akb. shows that the price was fixed separately for the two slaves, as the merchant objected to sell Altamsh at the price fixed, but apparently had no objection about the other slave.

⁴ I have called Kutbuddīn, Sultan as in the original, though he was not a Sultān yet; but only a Malik and also a slave.

Aibak came to Ghaznī with Malik¹ Nasīruddīn Kharmīl, after the victory of Nahrwalah and the conquest of Gujrat. He heard of Altamsh, and solicited permission to buy him. The Sultān said, "I have ordered that no one should purchase him. The sale and purchase of him at Ghaznī is not desirable. Let him be taken to the country of Dehli and be sold there."

When Sultān Kutubuddīn returned from Ghaznī he left Nizāmuddīn Muḥammad there, for attending to certain matters; and ordered that he should bring Jamāluddīn Chust Kabā with him [to Dehli]; so that he might buy Altamsh from him. When they came, Sultān Kutubuddīn bought each of the two Turks, i.e. Altamsh and Aibak, for one lakh of jitals.² He gave the name of Taghmāj³ to Aibak and made him the Amīr of Sarhind. Taghmāj drank the sharbat of death in the war between Sultān Kutubuddīn and Sultān Tājuddīn Yalduz. Kutubuddīn gave the title of son to Altamsh, and honoured him by keeping him near his own person. After the victory of Gwālior, he made him Amīr of that place; and after that Baran,⁴ and the tract of country round it, were entrusted to him; and as Kutubuddīn repeatedly saw marks of valour and of the capacity of leadership in him, he bestowed the country of Badāūn⁴ on him.

¹ This name does not occur elsewhere. 'Izzuddīn Kharmīl, who was probably his brother, was one of the commanders in the army of Sultān Muizzuddīn.

² If a jital was only $\frac{1}{100}$ th part of a rūpī, a lak of jitals would only amount to seventy-eight rūpīs and eight annas; therefore either the jital must have had a far higher value than is ordinarily assigned to it, or the amount of one lak jitals, which is the amount mentioned in the text, as well as in the *Ṭabaḳat-i-Nūṣiri* and various other authors, must be incorrect. The *Tazkirat-i Mūlūk* says the price was fifty laks jitals, and Badāūnī a lak of tangahs.

³ The names of Taghmāj and Sarhind are given in the lith. ed. and in all the MSS. According to the *Ṭab-i-Nūṣ*, the name of Aibak was changed to Tamghūj; and he was made Amīr of Tabarhindah. Major Raverty says that Tamghūj must have been superior in every way, at that time, to Altamsh, to have been at once made Amīr of Tabarhindah. I do not think that it necessarily follows that he was at once made Amīr of Tabarhindah. The whole of his history is given in one sentence, and he probably rose to be Amīr of Tabarhindah after some considerable time. Altamsh also was probably not honoured with the title of Kutubuddīn's son, at once.

⁴ Baran is the modern Buland Shahr. The fief of Badāūn was then and for some time afterwards the largest and most important in the kingdom.

royalty; and after some time, Sultān Tājuddīn, having been defeated by the army of Khwārizm, came to Lāhore and took possession of it. Sultān Shamsuddīn advanced to encounter him, and in the year 612 A.H. there was a great battle between them within the limits of Tarāin; and Sultān Tājuddīn was defeated and taken prisoner. He was brought to Delhi; and was imprisoned in Badā-ūn; and he died there.

In the year 614¹ A.H., there was war between Sultān Shamsuddīn and Malik Nāsiruddīn Kabājah, who was the son-in-law of Sultan Khatibuddīn; and here also Sultān Shamsuddīn was victorious. There were several battles with Malik Nāsiruddīn in the neighbourhood of Lahore, and each time victory fell to Sultān Shamsuddīn; till at the end, Sultān Shamsuddīn marched forward and attacked Nāsiruddīn. The latter strengthened the fort of Uchch, and betook himself to that of Bhakar. Nizām-ul-Mulk [Muhammad Junaidi] the Vazīr and certain other commanders were nominated by Shamsuddīn for the task of pursuing Malik Nāsiruddīn; and the Sultan himself besieged Uchch; and seized² it after two months and twenty-five days. When the news of the conquest of the fort reached Malik Nāsiruddīn, he sent his son 'Alāuddīn Bahrām Shāh to Sultān Shamsuddīn and prayed for peace. Shortly after this the news of the capture of Bhakar came. They say that after the capture of the fort Malik Nāsiruddīn was drowned in the river.³

thus: "after this Sultān Tājuddīn Mu'izzi, who was the King of Ghaznī and for whom Sultan Mahmūd bin Muhammad Sām had sent a canopy and a *durbash* (i.e. a spear with two horns or branches carried before kings, etc.) from Firoz Koh and after some time when," etc. The MSS. do not mention Sultan Mahmūd bin Muhammad Sām at all in this connection; and they have instead of the word '*durbash*' '*Imārat*,' '*Alā*' and '*adwāt*' respectively. The *Tabakāt-i-Nasirī* says Sultān Tājuddīn Yelduz, from Lahore, and Ghaznī entered into a compact with him (*Shamsuddīn Altamsh*), and sent him a canopy of state and a *durbash* (p. 607 of the translation), which agrees with the reading adopted.

¹ According to the *Tab-i-Nās*, these events took place in 624 A.H. Badā'ūni and the *Muntakhab-ut-tawārīkh* agree with one author in saying that they took place in 614; but they are all wrong.

² The *Tab-i-Nās*, says that the hostilities at the foot of the fort lasted for three months, after which it surrendered on terms of capitulation.

³ It is not clear from this whether he was accidentally drowned or otherwise. The *Tab-i-Nās*, says that he drowned himself (p. 544 of the trans.).

After this event, in the year 618 A.H., Sultan Jalāluddīn Khwārizm Shah being defeated by Chengīz Khān, came towards Lahore. Sultān Shamsuddīn went and opposed him with a large army¹ Sultān Jalāluddīn unable to withstand him, went towards Sind and Siwastān and thence escaped by way of Kaj and Makrān. After this in the year 622 A.H., Sultan Shamsuddīn marched with his army towards Lakhnauti and Behār, and brought Sultan Ghiāsuddīn Khalji, an account of whom has been already given, and who had acquired great power in that territory under subjection; and had the Khutbah read and coin struck in his own name; and obtained thirty-eight elephants and eighty thousand silver tangahs from him. He gave his eldest son the title of Sultan Nāsiruddīn; and placing the territory of Lakhnauti in his charge² and granting him a canopy and a *dūr-bāsh*, left him in Audh, and himself returned to his capital, Dehli. Malik Nāsiruddīn fought with Ghiāsuddīn Khalji, who was the ruler of that territory; and defeated him. He took him prisoner, and had him slain. Much booty fell into his hands. He remembered most of the notable and known men of Dehli, and sent presents to each one of them.

In the year 623 A.H., the Sultān determined on the conquest of Rantambor, and marching with his army in that direction captured that fort. In the year 624 A.H., he advanced, with his army, for

¹ This does not appear to be correct. The *Tab-i-Nās.* in one place says (p. 293 of the trans.) that Shamsuddīn "despatched a force from his armies" against Sultan Jalāluddīn, while in another place (p. 609 of the trans.) he says that he "marched from Dehli towards Lahore, with the forces of Hindūstān, and Sultān Jalāluddīn Khwārizm Shāh having turned aside from the host of Hindūstān marched away towards Sind and Siwāstān." It appears, however, that Shamsuddīn did not send any army against Jalāluddīn. He sent on the other hand an envoy with rich presents and supplies, and false excuses for the murder of Jalāluddīn's envoy (which he had himself previously instigated). Jalāluddīn was, however, not strong enough to bring Shamsuddīn to account; so he attacked the Khokhars, and after subjugating them, with their help established himself in Sind. He maintained himself there till 621 A.H., when receiving information that the army in 'Irāk wanted him there, he went there by way of Makrān.

² The charge was at first a merely nominal one: as Ghiāsuddīn Khalji continued to rule the territory till his defeat and death. Malik or Sultan Nāsiruddīn was apparently stationed in Audh to wait for a favourable opportunity for conquering Lakhnauti.

the conquest of the fort of Mandwar;¹ and brought that fort, and the whole of the Siwalik into his possession. The same year he returned to his capital of Delhi. Amīr Ruhānt, who was one of the learned men of that age, and who after the catastrophe of Chengīz Khān, had come from Bukhārā to Delhi, wrote some eloquent verses in congratulation of these victories. The following couplets form part of them:—

“The angel Gabriel, to the denizens of the sky, did bear
The news of the triumphs of Shamsuddīn, the Sultān great;
Oh holy angels! that on the highest heavens do dwell;
For this great news, in heaven build domes and arches high;
The emperor of Islām, from the Mnlāhida
Hath wrested again forts as lofty as the sky.
The warrior of the faith on whose arm and sword
The soul of the impetuous Haider showers praise.”

In the year 626 A.H., envoys came from Arabia bringing robes of the Khalāfat for Sultān Shamsuddīn. The Sultān fulfilled the conditions of reverence and homage, and put on the robes of the Dar-ul-Khalāfat. He felt boundless pleasure and happiness, from the putting on of that robe. He conferred robes of honour on most of the nobles; and domes were erected in the city; and the drum of joy was beaten.

The same year, the news of the death of Sultān Nāsiruddīn, who

¹ The lith. ed. and MS. A has *مندر*, MSS. B and C *مندر*. The other copies of the *Tab-i-Nūs*, have Mandwar, others Mandud and Mandā. The *Tab-i-Akh*, has Mandwar in some copies and Mandā in others. The *Mirāt-i-Jahān numā* has Mandwar, the *Zubdat-ut-tawārīkh* has Mandwar, the *Ferishtah* Mandū. The above is taken from note 3, p. 111 of the trans. of the *Tab-i-Nūs*, but Major Raverty transliterates *مندر* as Mandwar, which I think it should be Mandwar. Mandwar (or Mandars according to Tod) was the capital of the Parihārs, five miles north of Jodhpur. Tod says that Mandwar was taken from Mokul, the Parihār prince, by Rahup, who defeated him in S. 1257 (A.D. 1207) and shortly after sustained the attack of Shamsuddīn (Shamsuddīn) whom he, Rahup, met and overcame in battle at Nagore. It is apparently both parties claimed the victory. The Siwalik apparently included the whole tract of country south of the *Hirā Shyab*, between the *Garh* and the *Sutloj*, extending as far south as *Hāmī* in the *Siwalik*. *Nagore* was also included in the *Siwalik*. Some writers say that the *Siwalik* extended west as the borders of *Kashmir*.

was the ruler of Lakhnauti, came. Sultān Shamsuddīn performed the mourning ceremonies for him; and gave his name to his younger son; and showed much affection for him. The *Ṭabaḳat-i-Nāsirī* was named in his honour.

To return to the narrative, in the year 627 A.H., the Sultān marched with his troops in the direction of Lakhnauti and quelled the disturbances which had occurred there, after the death of Sultān Nāsiruddīn. He put Lakhnauti under the charge of 'Izz-ul-mulk Malik 'Alauddīn *Khāni*¹ and returned to Dehli, his capital.

In the year 629 A.H., he marched with his army for the conquest of Gwalior; and besieged it for a year. In the end Milak Deo Basil,² who was the ruler of the fort, escaped at night, and the fort came into the possession of the Sultān. A large number of men were taken prisoner, and out of these three hundred were executed. Malik Tājuddīn Reza, who was the Secretary of State, wrote this quatrain on the subject of the conquest of this fort, and it has been carved on a stone on the gate of the fort.

Every fort which the Sultān of Sultāns conquered,
He conquered by the help of God and the aid of the faith.
The fort of Gwalior,³ that impregnable fortress,
He conquered in the year six hundred and thirty.

After that the Sultān returned from there, and in the year 631 A.H., he invaded the territory of Mālwah, and conquered the fort of the Bhīlsā. He also took the city of Ujain, and he had the temple of Mahakāl, which had been erected three hundred years ago,⁴ and was extremely strong and massive, completely demolished, destroying it from its foundations; and he carried away the effigy

¹ See note 3, p. 59.

² The first part of the name is given in all the MSS. and in the lith. ed. as Milak Deo *ملک دیو*. The second part is given as *ملیل*, *ملیل*, *ملیل* and *ملیل*. Major Raverty after giving the various readings in the *Ṭab-i-Nāsirī* and other works has adopted Mangal Diw the son of Māl Diw (note 7, p. 619 of the *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ.* trans.). Mr. Thomas (p. 66 of the *Pathan Kings*) thinks that the name may represent Trailokya Deva, the son of Bisāla Deva, one of the Chandel Kings.

³ The name is given in the quatrain, in one of the MSS. and in the lith. ed., as *گالیور*.

⁴ The original is *که تا مدت سیصد سال تعمیر یافتند*, which may be trans-

of Bikramājī, from whom the Hindus count their era; and certain other statues which were fashioned of molten brass; and placed them in the ground in front of the Jami' Masjid;¹ so that they might be trampled upon by the people.

A second time he marched with his army towards Multan.² This journey turned out to be inauspicious; and an illness seized him; and when he reached Delhi, on the 20 Sha'bān in the year 633 A.H., he wandered to the other world.

✓ It is related in the writings of Khwājah Kṛṣṇabuddhīn Bakhtīār³ (may the mercy of God be on him!), which have been collected by Sheikh Farid Ganj Shakar (may their tombs be holy), that the desire of excavating a reservoir entered the Sultān's head. He went to the presence of the Khwājah [for his help] in selecting a proper site for it and asked his advice. The Sultān went to a number of places, but went away from them all, till he came to the place where the Shamsi reservoir (i.e. the reservoir named after Shamsuddīn) is situated, when he selected it. When night came on, the Sultān saw the prophet (may the benediction and peace of God be on him!) in a dream, mounted on a horse in the centre of the spot. The prophet asked him, "Shamsuddīn, what wishest thou?" The Sultān replied, "Oh prophet of God, I wish to excavate a reservoir." He ordered, "Excavate it here." The horse

lated as in the text, or as "which took three hundred years in building." Probably the latter is what the author meant.

¹ Not the present one, which was built by Shah-i-Jahān, but the first Jami' Masjid built by Kṛṣṇabuddhīn and now known as the Kṛṣṇi Masjid.

² The Sultān is said in the Ṭab-i-Nāṣ. (p. 623 of the trans.) to have marched into Banīān (or Banyān). Major Raverty thinks that Banīān was the country immediately to the west of the Salt Range. Badauni and Ferishtah copying the Ṭabaḳat-i-Ākbari have Multān, but apparently this is incorrect.

³ It is after this saint and not after Kṛṣṇabuddhīn Aibak that the Kṛṣṇ Minārāh is named. He was a native of Ush near Baghdād. He came to India and first proceeded to Multan in the time of Sultān Nāsiruddīn Kabājah. Subsequently he came to Delhi. He was held in such reverence that Sultān Shamsuddīn himself went forth from the city to receive him and do him reverence, and accompanied him to the city. He, however, took up his residence at Gilukhari on account of the scarcity of water in the city. When Sheikh Jalāluddīn, the Bastāmi, who was the Sheikh-ul-Islām, died, the Sultān wished him to take that office, but the saint declined it. He died on the 24th of the month of Rabi-ul-Awwal, 633 A.H. (See note 6, p. 621 of Ṭab-i-Nāṣ. trans.).

of the prophet (may the benediction and peace of God be upon him!) struck its hoof into the ground and a spring of water gushed out. The Sultān woke up from his sleep, and while yet the night was not passed, he went to the service of Khwājah Kuṭbuddīn (may his tomb be holy!) and related to him what had happened. The Khwājah (may his tomb be holy!) says that the Sultān took him to that spot and with the light of a lamp they saw that a spring had gushed out.

There is a story that in the days when Malik Shamsuddīn Altamsh was in poor circumstances¹ in Baghdād, a number of Darweshes used to meet in his master's house, and enjoy such songs and religious exaltation as Darweshes and persons of spiritual experience enjoy. Malik Altamsh every night served the Darweshes with head and heart and wept on hearing their songs.² Kāzī Hamiduddīn Nāgorī was the chief of the assembly. As the service of Malik Altamsh pleased the Darweshes, they cast a (kindly) glance on him; and on account of that glance the great and holy God raised him to the rank of Sultān. After an age, when he sat on the throne of the country of Hindustān, and Kāzī Hamiduddīn Nāgorī the first instructing seekers after truth in Delhi, the Darweshes He conquered danced in his lecture hall. Two exoterics learned

After that the man was called Mullāh 'Imaduddīn, and the other A.H., he invaded denying the propriety of the practice of singing of the Bhīlsā. He induced the Sultān to forbid the Kāzī from the temple of Mahakāl, which

and was extremely the Kāzī, and with all honour and respect asked him to sit. Those two men asked him whether singing and dancing were lawful or not. The Kāzī replied, they were unlawful for men, who were entirely rationalistic; and lawful

¹ The meaning of the passage is not clear. The reading also varies. The lith. ed. has در دل رقیب بود, two of the MSS. have در قید دل رقیب بود, while the third has در دل رفته بود.

² In the lith. ed. and in all the MSS. this passage is given as سر شمع میگزفت "held the head of the candle," which is unintelligible. I have ventured to alter the reading. It will be seen that when Kāzī Hamiduddīn reminds the Sultān of what he did in the olden days, he says according to the lith. ed. بر شمع میگزفت though the MSS. here also say بر شمع میگزفتند

for men of spiritual emotion. After that, turning his face towards the Sultān, he said, 'It would be in the auspicious recollection of your Majesty, that one night Darweshes and men of emotional experience were engaged in spiritual exercises, and you in accordance with your master's order, served the people in the meeting, and wept in the exaltation of your feelings. The Darweshes cast a glance on you, and you have reached your present high rank on account of that auspicious glance. The Sultān recollected the circumstances, and he wept and made the Kāzī sit down by his side and granted him many favours. After this he used to enjoy emotional exercises, and had great faith in the benefits (conferred by) Darweshes.

The Sultān¹ was very strict in the performance of religious duties and services. On Fridays he went to the mosque and strictly performed all prescribed and spontaneous duties. The Mulhids (schismatics) of Delhi were angry at this. They conspired together, and determined, to slay the king at the time of the public prayers, when the people would be engaged with their own devotions. They met together, and on a Friday they went armed into the mosque, and drawing their swords, martyred some men. The great and holy God protected the Sultān from the wicked designs of these men; and the ordinary people, mounting the roofs of houses, and climbing on walls, cast the band on the dust of destruction, with wounds caused by stones and arrows, and freed the earth from the shame of their existence.

Couplet.

The wicked to his wickedness doth e'er incline,
Like the scorpion which rarely into the house does go.²

Towards the close of his life, Fakhr-ul-mulk 'Usāmi, the Vazīr of Baghdād, who had been employed there for thirty years in the position of Vazīr, and was famous and noted for his visible and mental greatness and perfection, owing to some worldly reason, which often

¹ Minhajuddīn has not mentioned this attack of the Mulāhid on the Sultān, although he has given an account of a similar attack by them on the congregation in the great Masjid in the year 634 A.H.

² The similarity between the behaviour of the wicked and that of the scorpion is not very clear.

becomes the cause of the sorrow and mental disquietude of great men, left his own country, and came to Delhi. The Sultān felt honoured at his coming, brought him into the city with all courtesy and reverence, conferred the office of Vazīr on him, and showed him every mark of royal favour.

The period of the rule of Sultān Shamsuddīn Altamsh was twenty-six years.

SULTĀN RUKNUDDĪN FIROZ SHAH, SON OF SULTĀN SHAMSUDDĪN.

In the year 625 A.H.,¹ his father conferred Pergunah Badā-ūn on him, and gave him a canopy and a *ḍurbash* or two-horned baton. After that when the Sultān came to Dehli, after the conquest of Gwālīor, he placed the territory of Lahore under his charge. When the Sultān in his last journey returned from Siwastān,² he brought Ruknuddīn Firoz Shāh with himself from Lahore; and on his death, the nobles and the great officers of State placed Firoz Shāh on the throne at Dehli, on Tuesday (the 21st Sha'bān),³ in the year 633 A.H. The usual practice of making gifts and scattering money in respect of the high and the low was carried out. Poets wrote triumphant odes in praise and congratulation, and were rewarded with gifts and benefactions. Among them Malik Tajuddin Reza, the Imperial Secretary, presented a long ode and was honoured with gifts and rewards. Two couplets from it are quoted here by way of memento.

May the perpetual empire be of omen good,
To the king, specially in his time of youth,
Yamīn-ud-dowlah Ruknuddīn who has come.⁴

When he sat on the throne, the lust of enjoyment and pleasure kept him back from the work of government. Opening the doors of the treasury, he squandered and gave away the treasure. The rule

¹ The *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nūṣīrī* and the early histories all give this date, but Ferishtah has 626 A.H. He is, however, no authority (see note 5, p. 631 of the *Ṭab-i-Nūṣ.* trans.).

² The *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nūṣīrī* (p. 631 of the trans.) says "from the river Sind Baniān." See note 2, p. 69 (ante).

³ The date and the month are taken from the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nūṣīrī*. Ferishtah copies the *Ṭab-i-Akbar*, has no date or month also.

⁴ The meaning of the last line *درش از یمن چون رکن یمانی* is not clear.

of Hindustān passed into the hands of his mother, who was a Turkish slave-girl and was known as Shāhī Turkān. As she acquired great power and influence, she caused much trouble to the other ladies of the *haram*, of whom she had been jealous during the lifetime of the late Sultān.¹ She had a younger son of the latter, who bore the name of Kuṭbuddīn,² put to death; and emptied the treasury. The majority of Ruknuddīn's gifts were to dancing girls, and to people of the baser sorts, buffoons, and jesters.

The hearts of small and great, high and low turned from him; and Malik Ghiā-suddīn Muhammad Shāh, who was his younger brother, and had the government of the territory of Audh in his hands, turned his head from the rule of allegiance. Malik 'Izzuddīn Kabir Khān, the governor of Multan, and Malik Saifuddīn Kuji, that of Hānsī, sent letters to each other and raised the standard of hostility. Sultān Ruknuddīn moved out of Delhi with a large army with the intention of destroying these and encamped at Kilukhari.³ In the meantime Nizām-ul-mulk Muhammad Junaidi, who was the Vazīr of the empire, out of excess of fear and dread, fled from Kilukhari and went to the town of Kol and joined Malik 'Izzuddīn Sālārī.⁴

Sultān Ruknuddīn considered the suppression of the disturbances which had occurred in the Panjāb⁵ of the greatest importance, and turned his face towards Kulrām. When he reached the neighbourhood of Mansurpūr and Tarāin, the following among the nobles who

¹ The author of the *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ*, incorrectly says that she had experienced envy and jealousy from some of the other ladies of the *haram*. As our author says, she had been jealous of them: and as soon as she obtained an opportunity, she had some of them put to death with much degradation, and treated others with great ignominy (see *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ*, trans. p. 632, and note 5).

² He was the youngest of Shamsuddīn Altamsh's sons, quite a child, by a concubine. According to the *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ*, he was deprived of the sight of both eyes and afterwards put to death (*Ṭab-i-Nāṣ*, trans., p. 633, and note 6).

³ This was only a suburb of Delhi or one of the many new cities as they were called. It has been stated by some writers that it was founded in 686 A.H. by Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Kai-kubād; but this is not correct. It was founded at a much earlier date (see note 2, p. 634, *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ*, trans.).

⁴ He was the feudatory of Badā-ūn.

⁵ Our author has mentioned the feudatories of Mūltān and Hānsī among those who revolted, but the feudatory of Lahore, Malik 'Alāuddīn Jānī, was also in revolt.

accompanied him, viz. Tāj-ul-mulk Muhammad¹ the Dabir (Secretary) and Bahāuddīn Husen, and Malik Karīmuddīn Zāhid (the Saint) and Zia-ul-mulk Sarwāni, and Khwājah Rashīd, and Amīr Fakhruddīn detached themselves from the army and returned to Delhi.² They swore allegiance to Sultān Razia who was the eldest daughter of Sultān Shamsuddīn; and placed her on the imperial throne. They seized Shāh Turkān, the mother of Sultān Ruknuddīn, and put her in prison. The Sultān Razia was possessed of charming attributes, such as courage, and liberality, and wisdom, and discernment, and was gifted with manly qualities. Her father had looked after her with great care, and in his lifetime she had been initiated into matters of State and had been vested with certain powers.

When the news reached Sultān Ruknuddīn, he returned towards Delhi and reached Kilukhari. Sultān Razia sent an army forward to encounter him, and he was seized and brought to Delhi and imprisoned, and in a short time after that, in that prison he died.

The period of his rule was six months and twenty-eight days.

↓ SULTĀN RAZIA.³

In the year in which Sultān Shamsuddīn conquered the fortress of Gwāliar, on account of the great intelligence and discernment which he found in Sultān Razia, he called together some of his nobles; and gave directions about her being made his heir. They ventured to represent to him, that it was scarcely judicious to make a girl the heir to his throne, when he had able and intelligent sons. The Sultān said, 'I see my sons indulging in drinking and gaming,

¹ The *Ṭab-i-Nūṣ.* calls him Tāj-ul-mulk Mahmūd.

² According to the *Ṭabakāt-i-Nūṣirī* (trans., p. 635) these men did not return to Delhi; but they and a number of other Tāj'ik officials were martyred or slain, by the Turk Amīrs and the slaves of the household. The authority of the *Ṭabakāt-i-Nūṣirī* is greater than that of the *Ṭabakāt-i-Ākhari*, and must be accepted, but both Ferishtah and Badāūni have followed the latter. According to the *Ṭab-i-Nūṣ.*, it was the breaking out of open hostility between his mother and Sultān Razia, which necessitated Sultān Ruknuddīn's return to Delhi. The people of the city took the side of Razia, attacked the royal Kaṣr (castle) and seized Shāh Turkān.

³ Major Raverty calls her Raziyyat. Of course, grammatically he is correct, but she has so long been called Razia that I have called her by that name.

and various unlawful and immoral habits. I don't think that their arms will be able to support the burden of empire. Razia, although she is in appearance a woman, yet in her mental qualities she is a man, and in truth she is better than (my) sons.'

In short, when Sultān Razia in the year 635 A.H. sat on the imperial throne, she again enforced the rules and principles which had been in vogue during the time of her father; but which had become meaningless and obsolete in the days of Ruknuddīn's rule; and she followed the path of justice and generosity.

Nizām-ul-mulk Muhammad Junaidi, who had been the imperial Vazir, and Maliks Jānī and Kujī and Malik 'Izzuddīn Ayāz who had come together from different directions to the court of Razia, showing ingratitude for her favours, assumed a hostile attitude, and they wrote letters to the nobles in the various provinces; and instigated them to do the same. In this state of things, Malik 'Izzuddīn Hansi,¹ Jagirdar of Audh, came towards Delhi with the intention of aiding Sultān Razia. When he crossed the Ganges the hostile nobles, who have been already mentioned, advanced and seized him; and he, owing to an illness that seized him, died at this time. After this, within a short time, Sultān Razia by her able dispositions and vigorous plans² disunited the worthless nobles and threw them into perplexity, and each one fled in a different direction. Sultān Razia directed that the fugitives might be pursued. Malik Kuji and his brother were seized and put to death. Malik Jānī was killed in the province Pāyal,³ and his head was brought to Delhi. Malik Nizām-ul-Mulk went away among the Sarmur hills, and died there.

¹ He is called Malik Nuṣrat (Naṣrat)-uddīn Tayasa'ī the Mu'izzi in p. 639 of the *Tab-i-Nās.*; and Major Raverty says in note 7, in the same page, that he was made feudatory of the province of Audh, by Sultān Razia, after the revolt of Ghiyāsuddīn Muhammad Shāh, younger son of Shamsuddīn Altamsh, in the reign of Ruknuddīn.

² Major Raverty apparently objects to this statement (see note 2, p. 640 of the *Tab-i-Nās.* trans.) but I see nothing wrong in it. It is clear from the *Tab-i-Nās.* that the hostile Amīrs became disunited, and it is quite possible, and indeed probable, that this disunion was brought about by Sultān Razia's able management.

³ The name is given as Babal, Babul, and Babool by Elliot and Briggs and in the text of Forishtah. It is given as *Babal* in the lith. ed., in MS. A it is given as Payal, and in MSS. B and C as Bayal and Mayal. Raverty (note 3,

When the power of Sultān Razia became greater, and her rule acquired form and system, the post of Vazīr was conferred on Khwājah Muhazzab, who had been the deputy of Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi, and he received the title of Nizam-ul-mulk. The command (deputyship) of the army was placed in the charge of Malik Saifuddin Aibak and the title of Kutlagh Khan was conferred on him. The province of Lahore was granted to Malik Kabir Khān Ayāz, and the territories of Lakhnauti, Dival, Darband, and the various towns and provinces were each made over to a noble. At this very time Saifuddin Aibak died, and in his place Kutbuddin Hasan¹ was appointed; and he was sent with a large force against the fort of Rantambor. He relieved and brought out the Musalmāns who were in the fort, and whom the Hindus had besieged after the death of Sultān Shamsuddin: but took no steps to hold the place. After he had gone away towards Rantambor, Malik Ikhtiaruddin Aitkin became the Lord Chamberlain; and Jamāluddin Yakut² the Abyssinian, who had been the lord of the stables, attained to a high position in the service of Sultān Razia, and became the subject of the jealousy of the nobles. He attained to such a pitch of intimacy (with the queen) that when Sultān Razia mounted, he placed his hands under her arms and placed her on the animal she rode.³ Sultān Razia came out of the Pardah and wore the dress of a man.

p. 640, *Tab-i-Nāṣ.* trans.) says Pāyāl or Pāyil is the name of a very old place, giving name to the district, on one of the routes from Delhi to Lūdiānah.

¹ He is called indiscriminately Hasan and Husen: but according to Major Raverty the latter is the correct name. He was the son of 'Alī Ghūrī, and was forced to leave Ghūr through the power of the Mughals.

² Ferishtah, following our author, has turned him into an Amīr-ul-Umrā. As Major Raverty has pointed out, this title existed from Akbar's time downwards, but was not known in the time of Sultān Razia. Ziauddin Junaidi was, however, given the title of Malik-ul-Umrā.

³ There has been some controversy as to the actual relationship between Sultān Razia and the lord of the stables. There is nothing about any help being given, by the Amīr Akhur to the Queen to mount, in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*; but what is stated in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* and following it, in Ferishtah and *Badrūni* (the last saying that when she mounted an elephant or horse, she went upon Jamāluddin Yākut), would very likely give rise to an idea of undue familiarity. In any case this would give a sufficient excuse to the Turk Maliks to rebel against a sovereign who was sufficiently energetic to enforce her orders.

She put on the *Kabā* (coat) on her person and the *Kulah* (high cap) on her head; and sat on the throne; and granted public audience.

In the year 637 A.H., Malik 'Izzuddīn Ayāz, who was the Governor of Lahore, turned aside from the path of allegiance, and laid the foundation of hostility. Sultān Razia marched against him; and he behaved with sincerity and became one of her adherents. Sultān Razia made over the province of Multān, which had been in the charge of Malik Qarā Qāsh, also to Malik 'Izzuddīn; and returned. The same year she marched with a large army towards Tabarhindah. On the way the Turki nobles attacked her and slew Jamāluddīn Yāqūt who had been made the Amīr-ul-Umrā. They imprisoned Sultān Razia in the fort of Tabarhindah. They also placed Mu'izzuddīn Bahrām Shah, son of Sultān Shamsuddīn, on the throne and took possession of Dehli. At this time Malik Ikhtiaruddīn Altunia who was the governor of Tabarhindah married Sultān Razia by the *nikāh* ceremony¹ and Razia came towards Dehli with the army of Altunia; after having in a short time collected a body of Khokhars and Jāts and all the Zamindars of those parts, and having also gained over some of the nobles to her side. Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Bahrām Shah sent Malik Tigin, the younger, with a large army against her. The two armies met in battle; Sultān Razia was defeated; and went back to Tabarhindah. After a time, she collected her scattered forces; and making fresh preparations and collecting a new supply of munitions of war, she raised the standard of determination, and marched towards Dehli. Sultān [Mu'izzuddīn] Bahrām Shāh again sent Malik Tigin, the younger, with a large army against Razia to fight with and destroy her. The two armies met in the neighbourhood of Kaithal. Again Razia was defeated, and she and Altunia fell into the hands of the Zamindars and were slain; and according to another version they were seized and brought before Bahrām Shāh, and he ordered them to be slain. This happened on the 25th Rabi'-ul-awwal 637 A.H.²

¹ The Tazkarat-ul-mulūk and some other works say that Malik Ikhtiaruddīn Altunia forced Razia into the marriage; on the other hand Elphinstone says, apparently without any authority, that Razia so far gained over Altunia by the influence of love or ambition that he agreed to marry her. The truth appears to be that both Razia and Altunia thought that a union between them would further the interests of both.

² The account given above varies in some most material particulars from

The period of Sultān Razia's rule extended to three years and six months and six days.

SULTĀN MU'IZZUDDIN BAHRĀM SHĀH, SON OF SULTĀN
SHAMSUDDIN.

On Monday, the 28th Ramzān 637 A.H., Sultān Mu'izzuddin Bahrām Shāh ascended the imperial throne, with the consent of the Nobles and Amīrṣ and Maliks. As Malik Ikhtiar-ud-dīn,¹ in consultation with the vazīr of the dominions, Nizām-ul-mulk, Muhazzab-uddin, took up the control of the entire government of the realm into his hands, and married the sister of Sultān Mu'izzuddin, who had formerly been the *nikāh* wife of Kāzī Ikhtiaruddin, in the *nikāh* form; and always kept a large elephant tied at his gate, when at that period none but the Sultān could keep one. These matters produced grave suspicions in the mind of the Sultān. The latter ordered certain desperate men (*Fidā-īs*²) and they martyred Malik Ikhtiar-ud-dīn with their knives. They also inflicted two wounds on the side of Malik Muhazzab-ud-dīn, but he escaped with his life.

After this Malik Badr-ud-dīn Sunḡar Rumi became the Amīr Hājib (Lord Chamberlain). He carried on all affairs of State according to the ancient laws and customs. It so happened, however, that Malik Badr-ud-dīn Sunḡar, at the instigation of a band of turbulent people, conspired with the judges, and other high officers of State, to bring about a revolution. On Monday, the 17th³ Safar, all

that given in the *Tabakāt-i-Nasīrī*, which being a contemporary record must be held to have a higher authority. According to the *Tabakāt-i-Nasīrī*, Sultān Mu'izzuddin Bahrām Shāh himself led the army against Sultān Razia, and Malik Ikhtiaruddin Altūnī; and the latter were routed, and when they reached Kaithal, the troops who were with them abandoned them; and Sultān Razia and Malik Altūnī fell into the hands of the Hindus, and attained martyrdom. It appears also that the defeat took place on the 24th Rabi'-ul-awwal, and Sultān Razia and Malik Altūnī were slain on the 25th Rabi'-ul-awwal 638 A.H.

¹ This was Malik Ikhtiaruddin Aitkīn, who on account of Mu'izzuddin Bahrām Shāh's youth was appointed deputy or regent for one year, see p. 649, *Tabakāt-i-Nasīrī* (trans.).

² *Fidā-ī* means a sacrifice. A *Fidā-ī* is one who is ready to sacrifice himself in order to carry out the task assigned to him. The agents of the chief of the army were so named.

³ The lith. ed. and MS. A have 17th, MS. B has 7th, and MS. C ۴۳۵۲

the notables met together in the house of the Sadr-ul-mulk (the chief judge), Tajuddīn, who was the Secretary of the kingdom, and discussed about a change in the empire. They sent the Sadr-ul-mulk to summon the Nizam-ul-mulk, so that he may also participate in the consultation. Presently the Sadr-ul-mulk¹ gave intimation of the matter to Sultān Mu'izzuddīn. He also kept a man, in whom the Sultān had confidence, concealed in a corner,² and going himself to Nizam-ul-mulk, informed him of the meeting in which Kāzī Jalāluddīn Kāshānī,³ Kāzī Kabīruddīn, Sheikh Muhammad Sāoji⁴ and others were present. Nizam-ul-mulk, making an excuse, delayed his going to another time. The Sadr-ul-mulk represented the facts to the Sultān, through the man whom he had kept concealed. The Sultān immediately came to the place of the meeting; dispersed the men who were there; sent Malik Badriddīn Sunḡar towards Badā'ūn; and removed Kāzī Jalāluddīn Kāshānī from his appointment; and after a time when Malik Badriddīn came to the court from Badā'ūn, the Sultān ordered him and Malik Tājuddīn Mūsī⁵ to be executed. He also ordered Kāzī Shamsuddīn, Kāzī of the town of Bārharah,⁶ to be thrown under the feet of an elephant. This became the cause of great fear and alarm to the people.

which may also be taken as a mistake for 17th. The date is, however, given as the 18th in a translation of the passage in note 5, p. 653, of the trans. of the *Tab-i-Nās*, although the 17th is the date in the text of the *Tab-i-Nās*, itself, see p. 652 trans.

¹ This is evidently a mistake. In the *Tabaqāt-i-Nasirī* (p. 653 of the trans.) it is the Nizam-ul-mulk who sent intimation of the conspiracy to the Sultān. It is not likely that the Sadr-ul-mulk would give information to the Sultān, when the conspiracy was being hatched in his own house. Ferishtah has of course copied the *Tab-i-Akb.*, mistake and all.

² This also is a mistake. According to the *Tab-i-Nās*, the Vazīr had a favourite and confidant of the Sultān near him, when the chief judge arrived, and he concealed him, and sent him to the Sultān, as soon as the chief judge had gone away.

³ The lith. ed. and MSS. B and C have Kāshānī, MS. A has Kāshīānī. The *Tab-i-Nās*, says Kāsūnī. Kāsūn is the name of a village near Samarkand and Kūshān is a city in Irāk.

⁴ The lith. ed. and two of the MSS. have Sāoji and the third MS. Sāochī. In the *Tab-i-Nās*, the man is called Shoiḡh Muhammad-i-Shāmī (the Syrian).

⁵ He was so called in the lith. ed. and in all the MSS. In the *Tab-i-Nasirī* he is called Tājuddīn 'Alī Masawī.

⁶ The name of the town is given as Manahrah in the lith. ed. and Barharah

In the midst of these things, on Monday the 16th Jamādi-ul-Ākhar 639 A.H., the Mughal armies of Chengiz Khān came and invested Lahore. Malik Karā Kash, who was the Governor of Lahore, found that the people of the city would not help him. He came out of the city in the middle of the night and started towards Dehli. The city of Lahore was ruined and desolated by the cruelties of the followers of Chengiz Khān, and an immense number of people were made prisoners. When this news reached the Sultan, he collected the nobles in the White Castle, and made them swear allegiance to him anew, and sent Malik Nizām-ul-mulk, the Vazir of the empire, with other nobles towards Lahore to check the havoc caused by the Mughals.¹ When the army reached the river Beāh near the town of Sultanpur, the Nizam-ul-mulk, who was at heart hostile to the Sultan, turned the hearts of the nobles from him, and laying the foundation of deceit and treachery, sent a representation to the Sultan, to the effect that nothing could be expected from the body of treacherous men, who had been sent with him; and that the disturbance would not be quelled, unless the Sultan should himself march to that part of the country. The Sultan, out of his simplicity and the confidence which he reposed in him, wrote in reply, that those persons deserved to be executed, and otherwise punished. and at the right moment they would get their deserts; but that he should, for a few days, temporize with them. Nizām-ul-mulk showed the farmān to the nobles, and made them all join him.

When the Sultan became aware of these things, he sent His Reverence the Sheikh-ul-Islām, Sheikh Kutbuddin Bakhhtiār Ushī,²

or Marharah in the MSS. In the *Tabākāt-i-Nāsiri*, see p. 657 of the trans., the place is called Mihir. Kazi Shamsuddin of Mihir was thrown before the feet of an elephant according to the *Tab-i-Nās.* also; but this was not because he was in any way connected with the plot; but at the instance of a darvesh whom the Kāzi had persecuted, and who had now gained an ascendancy over the Sultan.

¹ It appears that the army which was sent to repel the Mughals, or to relieve Lahore, or to guard the frontier (all these objects were mentioned), was under the command of Malik Kutbuddin Husen, the son of Ali the Ghūrī, and the Vazir only accompanied it in a civil capacity.

- Here again our author has fallen into an error. According to the *Tabākāt-i-Nāsiri*, it was the Sheikh-ul-Islām Sayyad Kutbuddin that was sent to the army. Khwajah Kutbuddin Bakhhtiār Ushī, who was venerated as a saint, and after whom the Kutb Minārah at Dehli is named, died six years

in order to reassure the nobles; but they could not in any way be satisfied. The Sheikh returned to Delhi. After that Nizam-ul-mulk and all the nobles came to Delhi in order to destroy Sultān Mu'izzuddīn. They besieged him, and every day conflicts took place.

As the citizens were at one with the nobles, on Saturday the 8th of Zi-Ķādah of that year they seized the city;¹ and after keeping Sultān Mu'izzuddīn, under imprisonment for a few days, had him executed.

The period of his reign was two years, and one month and fifteen days.

SULTAN 'ALĀUDDĪN MAS'ŪD SHĀH.

When Sultān Bahrām Shāh was put to death, Malik 'Izzuddīn Balban sat on the throne² at Delhi, and issued a proclamation in the city. The Amirs and Maliks did not approve of this; and presently they brought out Sultān Nāsiruddīn and Sultān Jalaluddīn, sons of Sultān Shamsuddīn Altamash, and Sultān 'Alauddīn Mas'ūd Shāh, son of Sultān Ruknuddīn, who were under imprisonment in the White Castle; and they placed Sultān 'Alauddīn Mas'ūd Shāh on the throne, in Delhi, in the month of Zi-Ķādah 639 A.H. Malik Ķutbuddīn Hasan was honoured with the dignity of the

previous to this time. It appears also that the Sheikh-ul Islām, instead of trying to allay the sedition, used his endeavours in stirring it up, and in augmenting it. See Tab-i-Nūs. trans., p. 658-9, and note 2, p. 658.

¹ The fighting round and in the city went on from the 19th Sh'abūn to the 8th of Zi-Ķādah, about seventy-seven days, and during this time, according to the Tab-i-Nūs., great numbers of people perished, and others were disabled, and all the environs of the city were destroyed. It appears that the disturbances were prolonged, because the Sultan was under the influence of a head Farash who used to be styled Fakhruddīn Mubārak Shāh Farrukhī, and the latter would in no way assent to an accommodation. We do not know the terms of the proposed accommodation; but as they in all probability meant either the imprisonment or the death of his patron, we can not very well blame the head Farash. See T.N. trans., p. 659.

² It is not quite clear whether he actually sat on the throne. It is said in one place in the notes to the Tab-i-Nūs. that he proceeded to the royal Ķasr and issued a proclamation, intimating his assumption of the sovereignty. In the text, however (p. 661 of the trans.), it appears that he assumed the throne within the royal residence.

Naib or deputy of the empire, and Muhazzabuddin Nizām-ul-mulk with that of the Vazīr. Malik Karā Kash became the Lord Chamberlain. As Malik Nizām-ul-mulk wanted to take the bride of the empire in his arms without participation by any one else,¹ the Amīrs and the great men of the age combined together and put him to death, on Wednesday the 2nd Jamādi-ul-Awwal 640 A.H.

Couplet.

One should not be proud of his greatness like a flower,
For a strong flood soon carries away the embankment.²

The post of Vazīr was conferred on the Sadr-ul-mulk Najm-ud-din Abu Bakr; and Ghiāsuddin Balban,³ who at that time had the title of Ulugh Khān, became the Lord Chamberlain; Nagore, Sind and Ajmir were entrusted to Malik 'Izzuddin Balban the elder; the parganah of Badā-ūn was placed in charge of Malik Tajuddin; and all the parganahs in the empire were distributed among the Amīrs according to their circumstances; and the affairs of the kingdom were put in order; and the people became contented and happy.

At this time, Malik 'Izzuddin Tughā Khān,⁴ who went towards

¹ This is a figurative way of saying that he wished to usurp the whole power. According to the Tab-i-Nās. trans., p. 662, he appropriated the district of Kol as his own fief; he had previously established the naubat and stationed an elephant at the gate of his residence. He also took all functions out of the hands of the Turk Amīrs. It appears that he was put to death within the camp before the city of Dehli, in the plain of the Rani's reservoir.

² The meaning of the couplet is not very clear; but I think the above is a correct translation.

³ There is a certain amount of confusion as to the two Balbans in the Tabakat-i-Akbari, and consequently in Ferishtah, who copies it almost verbatim. The fief of Nagore was conferred on Malik 'Izzuddin Balban-i-Kashlu Khān, together with permission to have an elephant, to indicate that he belonged to the royal family. He was either the son-in-law or brother-in-law of Sultan Shamsuddin Altamsh. It was also he who had attempted to make himself the king. Nagore, Mandwar, and Ajmir were afterwards conferred on him. The other Balban was Ghiāsuddin Balban-i-Khurd, who afterwards became Ulugh Khan.

⁴ His full name according to the Tab-i-Nās. was 'Izzuddin Tughril-i-Tughān Khan. Kāzī Jalāluddin was the Kāzī and not the Hākim of Audh; otherwise the account given in the Tab-i-Akb. is correct. Ferishtah, however, changed Asha'ri into Sankuri.

Lakhnauti, his own territory, sent the Sharf-ul-mulk, the Asha'ri, to Sultan 'Alāuddīn. The Sultan sent a red canopy and a special robe of honor towards Lakhnauti for 'Izzuddīn Tughā Khan, by the hand of Qāzi Jalāluddīn, the ruler of Audh. He also released both his uncles from prison; and placed the territory of Kanauj in charge of Malik Jalāluddīn; and that of Bahraieh¹ with its dependencies in that of Malik Nāsiruddīn; and they left marks of their beneficence on the face of time in those territories.

In the year 642 A.H. the Mughal armies² came into the territory of Lakhnauti. It is surmised that they came by the route by which Muhammad Bakhtīār had marched towards Tibbat and Khitā. Sultān 'Alāuddīn sent Taimur Khān and Qarā Beg³ to Lakhnauti with a large army to aid 'Izzuddīn Tughān. After the Mughals had been defeated, and had gone away, hostilities arose between 'Izzuddīn Tughān and Malik Qarā Beg. The Sultān conferred Lakhnauti

¹ Major Raverty calls this Bharājī. The name is distinctly Bahraich in the lith. ed. and in one of the MSS. It may be Bharanj or Bharaj in the other MSS. Malik Nāsiruddīn was then only fifteen years of age, and the other was still younger.

² This is a ridiculous error, as Major Raverty calls it. It has been copied by Badāūni and Ferishtah and from the latter by his English translators; and from them by English writers generally, including those of Handbooks and Manuals. The author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* was at the time staying in the Lakhnauti territory, and neither he nor the authors of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, the *Rauzat-us-Safā* and the *Zubda-ut-Tawarīkh* mention any invasion of the Lakhnauti country by the Mughals. What Minhaj wrote was *کفار جاجنگر بدر* *لکھنوتی آمدند*. Some careless copyist changed *جاجنگر* into *چنگیز خان* and Nizamuddīn Alunad used the incorrect copy in compiling his history, and other writers copied him. See p. 663, and note 8, in the same page of the *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ.* trans. The invaders were not the Mughals, but the Hindus from Jajnagar (or Tippera) which must not be confounded with Jajpur in Orissa.

³ There is apparently some confusion in these names. According to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (trans., p. 666) the reinforcements were sent under one Malik, who was named Malik Qamaruddīn Qirān-i-Tamur Khan. Thomas (Pathan Kings, p. 121) calls him Tamar Khan. There is no Malik of the name of Qarā Beg in sec. xxii of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* which is about the Shamsiah Malik. It would appear, therefore, that Nizamuddīn Ahmad made two men out of Qamaruddīn Qirān-i-Tamur Khan and called them Taimur Khan and Qarā Beg. Major Raverty is, however, wrong when he says (note 9, p. 666) that "the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*" turns Malik Qamaruddīn Qirān Tamur Khan "into Izzuddīn Tughān Tīmār Khān Qarā Beg and makes him quarrel with himself," etc.

on Taimur Khān, and Tughān Khān came to Dehli in the service of the Sultān. At this time news came that the Mughal armies had reached the neighbourhood of Uchch. The Sultān called his nobles and with great promptitude started towards Uchch. When he reached the bank of the river Biāh, the Mughal armies, who were besieging Uchch, turned their faces, and fled. The Sultān returned to Dehli, crowned with triumph and victory.

After this, Sultān 'Alāuddīn turned away from the path of justice and righteousness, and took to the practice of malevolence.¹ Owing to this, all the nobles and great men turned from him, and combining together, wrote letters to Sultān Nāṣiruddīn Mahmūd, the son of Sultān Shamsuddīn, who at the time was in Bahraich, and summoned him. When Sultān Nāṣiruddīn Mahmūd reached Dehli, Sultān 'Alāuddīn Mas'ud Shāh was seized and imprisoned in the year 644 A.H.,² and while under imprisonment he died.

The period of his reign was four years, one month and one day.:

✓ SULTĀN NĀṢIRUDDĪN MAHMŪD.

[He was] the youngest son of Sultān Shamsuddīn Altamsh and a just and God-fearing king, and of a holy and humble disposition. He befriended learned and pious men; and cherished the wise and the great. His praiseworthy and beneficent qualities are clearly shown in the *Tabakāt-i-Nāṣirī*, which was compiled in his name. He ascended the imperial throne in the year 644 A.H.³ The Amīrs and Maliks of the period rendered homage to him; and gifts and presentations were made, to the small and the great. Poets wrote triumphal

¹ Nizāmuddīn Ahmad has not attempted to explain this sudden change in the character of the Sultān. The author of the *Tabakāt-i-Nāṣirī* (see trans., p. 668) says he came under the influence of a number of very worthless persons in the army, and he became addicted to the practice of seizing and killing his Maliks. He also became addicted to sensuality, pleasure, drinking and the chase to excess. Thomas says that camp life and military associations had a bad effect on the Sultān's morals, and he took to evil courses and uncontrolled cruelties. The deposition of Alāuddīn Mas'ud Shah appears to have been effected with very little bloodshed. For the way in which Nasiruddīn was smuggled from Bahraich into Dehli, see *Tab-i-Nāṣ.* trans., p. 677.

² On the 23rd Muharram

³ On the same day on which 'Alāuddīn Mas'ūd was imprisoned, i.e. the 23rd Muharram.

odes, and were made happy with gifts and rewards. Kāzi Minhāj wrote a long ode and presented it (to the Sultān); the following are a few complets from it :—

That great lord who is a Hatim¹ in generosity, and a Rustam² in energy,

Is Naṣirudduniā-wa-dīn Mahmūd, the son of Altamsh.

That world-king! from whose palace the roof of the sky,

In elevation and grandeur, thou mayest say is lower!³

The coin! what pride doth it feel from his auspicious title!

The prayer! how glorified is it by his fortunate name!

The post of Vazīr was conferred on Malik Ghiāsuddīn Balban, who had been a slave, and also the son-in-law of his (the Sultān's) father.⁴ He was honoured with the title of Ulugh Khān, and a canopy and a durbash (or two-branched baton) were conferred on him, and the whole of the administration of the empire was entrusted to his mature judgment. They say, that at the time of making over the charge of affairs to Ulugh Khān, (the Sultān) said, "I am making thee my deputy, and am delivering the control of the affairs of the empire into thy hands. Do nothing for which in the presence of the Almighty thou mayest not be able to answer, and mayest make me and thyself abashed and ashamed." Malik Balban Ulugh Khān laid the foundations of the rules of the deputyship in such a way, that every thing connected with the government came under his

¹ A man whose name has become proverbial as a pattern of generosity.

² The great national hero of ancient Persia.

³ There are different readings of a part of the line and the meaning is not quite clear. The 1st ed. has کوئی فرو دین نوشتش است, MS. A has که دوزین است, MS. B has گوئی که فروتن است and MS. C has گوئی که فردوسی و ش است.

⁴ According to Major Raverty this is incorrect. According to him it was 'Izzuddīn Balban-i-Kashlu Khān who, if either of the two Balbans were, was the son-in-law or brother-in-law (sister's husband) of Sultan Shamsuddīn Altamsh. Our author was of course wrong when he said in an earlier part, when describing the various appointments, after the death of Malik Nizām-ul-mulk Muhazzabuddīn, that Malik Ghiāsuddīn Balban had then the title of Ulugh Khān. It appears that the title was not conferred on him, even at the accession of Sultān Naṣiruddīn. It was conferred on him three years later, in 647 A.H. It appears also that the statement that a canopy and a durbash were granted to Ghiāsuddīn Balban by Sultan Naṣiruddīn at the very beginning of his reign is incorrect.

direct control, and no one else had any power in the transaction of any affairs of State.

In the month of Rajab, in the year of his accession, Sultān Nāṣiruddīn marched with his army towards Multān,¹ and on the 1st of the month of Zikādah, he crossed the river of Lahore (the Rāvī), and making Ulugh Khan the commander of the forces, sent him to the Jūd hills, and the districts of Nandanah, and himself stayed for ten days on the bank of the Sind.² Ulugh Khān plundered and ravaged the Jūd hills, and all that country; and slew³ the Khokhars and other turbulent people living there; and then returned to the presence of the Sultān. The latter then on account of the want of fodder returned to Dehli.⁴

On the 2nd Sha'bān in the year 645 A.H. the Sultān marched towards the Doab,⁵ and that same year (on the) 10th Zikādah he set out towards Karah,⁶ and there made Ulugh Khān the commander of the forces, and the latter went forward and plundered and ravaged the places Dalki and Malki,⁷ and returned to the service of the Sultān.

¹ The lith. ed. as well as all the MSS. read Multan; but all the MSS. of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī* except two have Baniūn, which must have been at that time the name of the hilly tract west of the upper part of the Sind-Sūgar Doābah. See notes 5 and 6, p. 677, *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ.* trans.

² So in the MSS. and in the lith. ed., but according to the *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ.* (trans., p. 678. and note 1) it was on the bank of the Sūḍharah or Sūḍharū (a name of a part of the Chinab) that the Sultān encamped with the camp, the followers, the heavy material, and the elephants.

³ This plundering and ravaging and slaying do not indicate a very holy and humble disposition.

⁴ According to the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī* it was Ulugh Khān who had to return owing to the difficulty of obtaining subsistence and necessaries for his troops.

⁵ According to the *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ.* (trans., p. 679) a very strong fort called Talsandah was first taken in the Kanauj country.

⁶ The expedition to Karah was probably rendered necessary owing to the feudatory of that place, Malik Iḥtīāruddīn Kārā-Kush Khān-i-Aitkīn, having been killed in the preceding year. It cannot, however, be ascertained by whom and how he was killed.

⁷ This phrase has been a puzzle. In one place in the *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ.* (p. 682 of the trans.) it has been written with a ۛ between Dalki and Malki, but in another place (p. 817 of the trans.) there is no ۛ between these words. The

On the 6th of the month of Sha'bān of the year 646 A.H., the Sultān marched against Rantambor; and punished the contumacious people of that neighbourhood, and then returned to Dehli. In the same year, Kāzi 'Imaduddīn Shafurkhani¹ was accensed, and was dismissed from his office; and then through the exertions of 'Imād-uddīn Raihān put to death.

In the year 647 A.H.,² the Sultān espoused the daughter of Ulugh Khān, and in the following year (648 A.H.) he marched with his army in the direction of Multān and on the bank of the river Biah, Sher Khān joined the imperial army. The Sultān on the 6th Rabi'ul-āwwal of the same year reached Multān, and after a few days Malik 'Izzuddīn was allowed to go towards Uchch, while the Sultān himself returned to Dehli.³

context would seem to show, that in the first place Dalki and Malki is intended to mean a tract of country, while in the second place Dalki Malki, or as Major Raverty transliterates the words here, Dalaki of Malaki is a Rānah. All that is definitely stated is that this Rānah's territory was in the vicinity of the River Jūn or Jamna, which is between Kālanjar and Kapah; that he had numerous followers and much wealth; and that the country was extremely difficult, and it had never up to that time been reached by Musalmān troops. A guess was hazarded that Dalki Malki was Trailokya Varma Deva, the 19th King of the Chandel dynasty, who reigned at Mahoba, Kālanjar, etc., but his accession took place in A.D. 1202, and he could not have been contemporaneous with Sultān Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd.

¹ The name of the Kāzi is given in the *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ*. (p. 685 of the trans.) as Kāzi Jamaluddīn the Shafurghani. In the *Ṭab-i-Akbari* the name of the man, through whose exertions he was put to death, has evidently been given to him by mistake. It does not appear what he was accused of.

² In the lith. ed. the year is put down as 640, and in two of the MSS. as 648 A.H.; the correct date is 647 A.H.

³ The transactions of the year 648 A.H. have been translated as they are given in the book; but they are all incorrect, and are due to a misreading of the corresponding passages in the *Ṭabaḡūt-i-Nāṣirī* by Nizamuddīn Ahmad, who has of course been followed, as usual, by Ferishtah and others. In the *Ṭabaḡūt-i-Nāṣirī* (trans., p. 687), the author says that he went to Multān, and there, on the 11th Safar, he obtained an interview with Malik Sher Khān-i-Sunkar, on the bank of the Biah, and then he proceeded towards Multān, which he reached on the 6th Rabi'ul-āwwal. There he had an interview with Malik 'Izzuddīn Balban-i-Kashlu Khān. Then the author started for Dehli and Malik 'Izzuddīn returned to Uchch. The peregrinations of Maulānā Minhājuddīn have thus been converted into the expeditions of the Sultān.

In the year 649 A.H. Malik 'Izzuddīn Balban, the feudatory of Nagore, swerved from the path of allegiance and acted in a refractory manner. Sultān Nāsīruddīn set out towards Nagore, in order to quell the insurrection. Malik 'Izzuddīn being unable to withstand (him), begged for protection, and joined the imperial court. Sultān Nāsīruddīn then came to Dehli accompanied by triumph and victory. The same year he again set out with a large army, on the 5th Sha'bān,¹ towards Gwāliar, Chanderi and Mālwah; and Jāhar Deo,² who was the Raja of that territory, advanced to meet him, with five thousand horsemen, and two hundred thousand infantry; but after a great battle, he was defeated; and the fort of Nirwar was taken by assault; and the Sultan returned to his capital with victory and renown. In this war many acts of great intrepidity and bravery were performed by Ulugh Khān Balban. After this, Sher Khān started from Multān, with the intention of taking Uchch, and Malik 'Izzuddīn Balban also went to Uchch from Nagore, and having surrendered the fort of Uchch to Sher Khān, went and joined the service of the Sultān; and the territory of Badāūn was assigned to him as his Jāgir.³

Then, on the 22nd Shawwāl in the year 650 A.H., the Sultān set out for Uchch and Multān, by way of Lahore.⁴ In the course of this expedition, Kutlugh Khān came to the Sultān, from the territory

¹ According to the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāsīrī* (trans., p. 690) this expedition set out on Tuesday, the 25th Sha'bān.

² There is a long note about this Raja's name (note 1, p. 690) in the translation of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāsīrī*. The name is given by different authors as Chāhar or Jāhar, Achar or Deo. Major Raverty says, that the name is given as Achar Deo in the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbari*, but it is given as Jāhar Deo in the lith. ed. as well as in the three MSS. I have collated. Nirwar or Nurwar is situated about 40 miles to the west of Bhupāl. According to Tod it was founded by the Kachwāhūh Rajputs, and was the abode of Rāja Nala, whose descendants continued to hold it, through all the vicissitudes of Tatar and Mughal dominion, till it was taken by the Mahrattas.

³ These events happened, according to the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāsīrī*, before the expedition to Gwalior, Chanderi and Malwah and not after, see *Ṭab-i-Nāsīrī* trans. p. 689.

⁴ Major Raverty surmises that the object of marching to Uchch and Multān by way of Lahore was to deprive Sher Khān, the kinsman of Ulugh Khān, of these places and that this was the first move of the Raihūnī plot against Ulugh Khān.

In the year 652 A.H., (the Sultān) marched with his troops into the regions of the foot hills of Bijnor¹ and obtained much booty. He then crossed the Ganges at Mianpur, and marched along the skirts of the mountains as far as the river Rahab. And at Baklahmānī, on Sunday, the 15th of the month of Safar in 652 A.H., Malik 'Izzuddīn Razi-ul-mulk, while in a state of intoxication,² was martyred by the Zamindars of those parts. The Sultān in order to avenge his murder, marched towards Kaithal and Kulhrām, and after punishing the turbulent people of the neighbourhood, went in the direction of Badāūn. He remained there for a few days, and then came to Dehli. He remained there for five months in pleasure and enjoyment. Intelligence was then received that some Amīrs, such as Arslān Khān, and Būt Khān Aibak Khitāī, and Ulugh Khān-i-Ā'zam, had, in concert with Malik Jalāluddīn, commenced hostilities.

The Sultān set out from Dehli in the direction of Tabarhindah. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Hānsī, the Amīrs who have been mentioned also moved towards Kulhrām and Kaithal.³ Here some people acted as intermediaries, and peace was established;

was defeated by the infidels of Sind. Nizāmuddīn Ahmad has changed قتل سندیان and he has as usual been followed by Ferishtah, who in his turn has been followed by most later historians.

¹ Major Raverty says, that in the account of this expedition, the author of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbari* has shown great ignorance of geography, and has made a precious hash of two expeditions and made them into one. I do not think, however, that there were two expeditions. The author of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāsiri* certainly used the word expedition in the plural, but as the Sultān left Dehli in the beginning of the year, and reached Badāūn on the 19th Safar, there could not have been two expeditions, in the time, which barely exceeded six weeks. Nizāmuddīn Ahmad, however, was in error in writing Kaithal for Kaithiher, and also in inserting the name of Kulhrām.

² This is an absurd mistake. Malik 'Izzuddīn Razi-ul-mulk was a native of درمش, or his family came from that place. The word *Durmashī*, however, was read by the author of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbari*, as "درمستی" in a state of intoxication," and Ferishtah of course followed him.

³ What actually happened is not quite clear; but it appears that there was a slight skirmish, and the greatest confusion arose in the Sultān's camp. After that the Sultān made a retrograde movement towards Hānsī, and Malik Jalāluddīn Mas'ūd Shah his brother, and Ulugh Khān-i-Ā'zam, and other Maliks marched towards Kaithal. Then the negotiation commenced and a peace was patched up. See *Tab-i-Nās.* trans., p. 697, and also p. 831.

and they (the refractory Amīrs) entered into engagements and took oath, and did service to the Sultān. The Sultān made over the rule of the territory of Lahore to Malik Jalāluddīn, and returned to Delhi.

In the year 653 A.H., the Sultān became annoyed with his mother, Malkah-i-Jahān, who had married¹ (after the death of Sultān Shamsuddīn Altamsh) Kutlugh Khān, and the province of Audh being assigned to the latter, as his fief, he was permitted to start in that direction: in a short time, however, he was moved from there and sent to Bahraich. He fled from there and went to Santur.² Malik Izzuddīn Kashlu Khān and certain other Amīrs combined with him and laid the foundations of an insurrection. The Sultan sent Ulugh Khān-i-Balban with a large army against them.³ When the two armies approached each other, a number of people in Delhi, such as the Sheikh-ul-Islam, Sayyad Kuntbuddīn and Kāzī Shamsuddīn Bahraichi, invited Kutlugh Khān and Kashlu

¹ There was probably some secrecy about this marriage: see note 9, p. 701 of the *Tab-i-Nūs*, trans.

² It appears from the *Tab-i-Nūs*, trans., p. 703, that Kutlugh Khān refused to leave the province of Audh: and Malik Bak Tamur was sent with a force to expel him. The two forces met in the neighbourhood of Badāūn, and Malik Bak Tamur was killed. Then the Sultan set out with his forces towards Audh. Kutlugh Khān retired before him. Then the Sultān moved towards some place called Kālaur, and sent Ulugh Khān in pursuit of Kutlugh Khān. After a while Ulugh Khān returned with great booty, and the Sultan and he went back to Delhi. Kutlugh Khān then moved towards Kaṭah and Mūnikpur, but was defeated by the feudatory of that territory. Then he went in the direction of Santur. *Tab-i-Nūs*, trans., p. 703 *et seq.*

³ Kutlugh Khān appears to have gone to Santur, en route to the Biāh and Lahore. Here he was aided by the Hindu chieftains, but Ulugh Khān was sent there with an army. After some fighting, however, he returned to Delhi; and then Kutlugh Khān was joined by Izzuddīn Kashlu Khān and others; after which Ulugh Khān was again sent with an army against them. The rebel Amīrs then entered into correspondence with the disaffected nobles, in the city, and attempted to surprise it by making a forced march. Ulugh Khān, however, sent news of all this to the Sultān. The latter then ordered the disaffected nobles to leave the capital, and to go away to their fiefs, and arrangements were made to defend the capital, by appointing Amīrs, heads of families, and respectable person to the ramparts. Malik Badruddīn Sunḱar Rumi, the feudatory of Bianah, also came to the capital with a body of his troops, and helped to defend it.

Khān to come to the capital, and to seize it; and they also secretly invited the citizens to submit to them. Ulugh Khān-i-Balban became aware of this, represented the true state of things to the Sultān, and suggested that he should disperse the persons concerned. The Sultān issued the necessary orders; and the Amīrs belonging to the hostile party had to go away to their fiefs. When Kutluḡ Khān and Malik Kashlu Khān came to Dehli from Sāmānah, having traversed a hundred *karoh* in two days, they did not find their partisans there. They also then dispersed. Ulugh Khān-i-Balban arrived immediately behind them, in the service of the Sultān.

At the end of this year the Mughal armies arrived in the neighbourhood of Uchch and Multān; and the Sultān marched to repel them, but they retired without fighting and the Sultān also returned.¹ He then sent Malik Jalāluddīn Jānī,² on whom he conferred a robe of honour, towards Lakhnauti. In the year 657 A.H., two elephants and gems and much valuable cloth arrived from Lakhnauti. Malik 'Izzuddīn Kashlu Khān, who has been previously mentioned, died in the month of Rajab that same year.

They say that Sultān Nasiruddīn wrote every year two copies of the Kurān,³ and spent the money for which he sold them on his own food. Once, it so happened, that a copy of the Kurān, which had been written by the Sultān, was bought by one of the Amīrs for a price higher (than what it was really worth). When the Sultān came to know of this, he was displeased, and ordered that thenceforward the Kurāns written by him should be sold secretly at the usual price. It has also been narrated, that the Sultan had no attendant or maidservant except his wife, and the latter used to cook his food. One day she said to him, that her hands always ached on account of

¹ The Sultan's army did not march beyond sight of the capital. The Mughals ravaged the frontier districts, and then withdrew.

² He is called elsewhere Jalāluddīn Kulich Khān, son of Malik 'Alāuddīn Jānī. He was suspected of disaffection, but made his submission, and then the fief of Lakhnauti was conferred on him.

³ Major Raverty disbelieves these anecdotes; and doubtless there is a great deal of exaggeration in them; but the Sultān certainly led a simple and homely life, and he also undoubtedly copied the Kurān. Ibn Batūta, on his visit to Dehli, saw a specimen of his calligraphy. Thomas says, that his excellence in penmanship, possibly, had its influence on the execution and finish of the legends of his coins.

her having to cook the bread. It would be better if he would buy her a slave-girl, who would make the bread. The Sultān said in reply : that the royal treasury belonged to the servants of God (the people), and not to him, that he could buy a maid-servant for her with (the money in) it. If she would be patient, the great God would recompense her well for it in the life to come.

Couplet.

The world to the wakeful eye is a dream,
The wise on dreams do not set their hearts.

In the year 663 A.H. the Sultan fell ill, and on the 11th Jāmā-di-ni-āwwal in the year 664 A.H., he left this world for the next. He left no offspring. His reign lasted for nineteen years and three months and a few days.

/SULTĀN GHĪĀSUDDĪN BALBAN

When Sultān Nāṣiruddīn died, all the Amīrs and Maliks placed Ulugh Khān-i-Balban, who was called Balban-i-Khurd, on the imperial throne, in the White Kasr (castle), in the year 664 A.H.; and the allegiance of the nobility and the common people was bound up to his throne. Sultān Ghīāsuddīn had been a slave of Sultān Shamsuddīn, of the body known as the forty slaves. Sultān Shamsuddīn had forty Turkish slaves, every one of whom attained to the rank of an Amīr, and the whole body of them was known as the Chehalgāni (the brotherhood or company of forty). Sultān Ghīāsuddīn was a king, wise, mature, of dignified mien, and possessed of great experience. He acted in all cases intelligently and wisely.

Couplets.

What valuable asset is a knowledge of the world ;
May the world be never lacking in it,
That man doth raise his head in the world,
Who in this world doth wisdom have.

He never entrusted the affairs of the empire except to the wise and the great, and never allowed base and low people to interfere in them. He never appointed any one to a post, or entrusted any one with any business, until the antecedents, integrity, goodness

and piety of the man were clearly established, and he took great pains in the verification of a man's family history; and made careful enquiries about it. If after he had appointed any one to a post, he had reason to suspect any defect in his personal character or qualifications, he at once removed him. To the end of the reign, which extended to twenty-two years, he never held any converse with low people; and never allowed jesters and buffoons to enter his court.

They say, that there was a notable man, of the name of Fakhr Āmānī, who had served the Sultān for a number of years. He went to one of the favourites of the Sultān, and begged him, and also offered to pay him a large sum of money, if he could induce the Sultān once to grant him an interview, in which he would make a large offering in cash and valuables. When this was represented to the Sultān, he said that the man was an Amīr of the bazar, and if he should hold any conversation with him, the awe in the heart of the common people for the Sultān would disappear; and there would be a diminution in his greatness and grandeur. All the attributes of the Sultān were praiseworthy; and in justice and righteousness, not one of the previous Sultāns could equal him. It is narrated that Malik Baḡbaḡ, the chief of the bodyguard, struck a farash (servant employed in spreading carpets and arranging furniture) in his employ some strokes with a stick, and the man died under the blows. The said Malik Baḡbaḡ was slain (by order of the Sultān), in retaliation for the offence, under the bastinado. Haibat Khān, the father of Malik Kīrān 'Alāī, who was a favoured slave of the Sultān, while in a state of intoxication, killed a man. The heirs of the murdered man came to the Sultān, and prayed for justice. The Sultān ordered that Haibat Khān should receive five hundred strokes of a stick; and should moreover be delivered over to the widow of the murdered man. People interceded with her; and settled that he should pay her fifty thousand tangāhs; and he was thus delivered from that woman. Haibat Khān never after this came out of his house, for shame, to the day of his death. In the same way, some of the other Amīrs suffered, according to the law of retaliation, for the unjust deaths they had caused. It did not make any difference to the Sultān that the murderer was an Amīr or a Malik; and the murdered man belonged to the vulgar or baser classes. The Sultān used to attend the assemblies of pious men

his eyes. As the offerings of each of the nobles was placed before him, the ushers of the meeting described the laudable attributes and the meritorious services of that particular noble. In his festal assemblages, songs were sung; and poets recited laudatory odes; and were rewarded with gifts and benefactions. They say that not one of his old servants, who had attended his private audiences, had ever seen him without his cap and socks and cloak. He never laughed aloud in his assemblies; and others also did not laugh there. He used to say that the dignity and the grandeur, in the demeanour of a king, inspired greater awe in the hearts of the people than the punishments inflicted by him; and the absence of a feeling of awe towards a king was the cause of insurrections and rebellion. If such a king occupies the throne, before long many dangers will occur and tumults and revolts will take place; the rules of justice will become abrogated, and the flood gates of tyranny and oppression opened wide. Sultân Ghīāsuddin observed the golden mean on all occasions; and showed mercy, as well as wrath, at the right time for each. He said repeatedly, that a monarch who in his acts, and behaviour, adopts the practices of a tyrant, commits infidelity to God; and acts against the behests of the prophet (on whom be the blessing of God and peace!), and the punishment for such practices is nothing but suffering and ruin in the life to come. Such conduct can never be atoned for, by a king, except in four ways: (1) that he reserves his power and authority for the proper occasions, and keeps nothing before his eyes except the happiness of his people, and the fear of God: (2) that he does not allow cheating and other crimes to be committed in his kingdom; and completely shuts the door on such practices; and always keeps the wicked and the reckless under the dread of his punishment: (3) that he entrusts all business and duties to wise, meritorious, honest and God-fearing persons; and does not allow treacherous men to live in his dominions: as they produce confusion among the people: and (4) that in the administration of justice, he practises righteousness to such an extent, that all vestiges of tyranny and oppression may disappear from his kingdom.

Couplet.

From justice doth stability spring,
The tyranny of kings is like a lamp in a draught.

Whenever Sultān Balban arrived at a Sarāi, or a bridge, or a muddy or marshy place, he waited there; and deputed nobles and great officers of State, who with sticks in their hands directed the arrangements; and first they made the sick, the infirm, the women and the children, and the weak and thin quadrupeds to cross over without any trouble. He used to employ his elephants, and other animals, in helping to take the people across. He waited for a few days, in such places, till all the people should have crossed over with ease.

Although in the days in which he held the rank of a K̄hān, Sultān Balban was addicted to drinking, and to the holding of convivial meetings, to which he invited Amīrs and Maliks; and to gambings; giving away his winnings to the attendants; and there were always in his assemblies witty and eloquent courtiers, and sweet-voiced singers; still after he had become the *badshāh*, he never hankered after these things, and rooted out even the names of wine and wine-drinkers and all evil-doers throughout his kingdom. He practised the customary fasts, kept up at nights, attended regularly at the Friday prayers and those for the morning and the evening, and never neglected his ablutions. He never took his food except in the presence of learned and pious men; and, while eating, discussed questions connected with religion and law with them. He went to the houses of holy men; and after his devotions, went on pilgrimage to the tombs (of the saints). He attended the funerals of great men; and went and condoled with the mourners. He conferred robes of honour on the sons and relations of men who died; and continued the stipends of such men to their heirs. Although he had so much power and grandeur, if even at the time when he was riding out he heard that there was a devotional assemblage at any place, where a sermon would be delivered, he instantly dismounted and went and heard the discourse, and wept (with the exuberance of his feelings).

The splendour of Kai khusro sprang from this;

That with justice and with learning he the earth adorned.

On days of devotion, he only a blanket wore.

With God he strove, with prayer and praise.

With his face on the ground, his heart like cauldron a-boil;

His heart so eloquent, and his tongue so mute.

Till you saw his heart, with the secret-seeing eye,
You would not know all the heights and all the depths.

In spite of all these beneficent attributes of his, in the matter of insurgents and rebels, he acted with the greatest rigour and sternness; and did not deviate so much as a needle's point from the ways of a tyrant. For the rebellion of one man he would overthrow a whole army, or a city. He kept the peace of his empire before his eyes, above all things; and for this reason he made away with most of the Shamsi Malikis, who had been his companions, by various devices and pretexts. When his power and greatness were firmly established, some of the Shamsi Amirs represented to him, that as his power and grandeur had now become so great, it was right that he should lead his armies for the conquest of Gujrat Malwah and other provinces of Hindustān. The Sultān said in reply, that in order to protect the country from the Mughals, who invaded it every year, he could not leave Dehli for the distant provinces; that a king should first of all make his own dominions perfectly secure; and then only try to conquer other countries; that it was one of the sayings of ancient monarchs, that it was better that one should secure and strengthen his own kingdom, than that he should stretch out his hand against those of others; and that a king who neglected even a single point, in ensuring the safety of his kingdom, became blameworthy before God.

In the year of the Sultān's accession, i.e. in A.H. 664, Tatār Khān, son of Arslān Khān,¹ sent sixty-three elephants from Lakh-

¹ Arslān Khān(i-Sanjar) invaded the territory of Lakhnauti, when he was the feudatory of Ibrahīm in 657 A.H. The feudatory of Lakhnauti, Malik 'Izzuddīn Balban-i-Yūz Paki, had then proceeded towards the country of Bang and had left Lakhnauti empty (of troops). The inhabitants took refuge within the walls, and defended themselves; but after three days the city was taken, and plunder and sack and rapine was kept up for three days. Malik 'Izzuddīn Balban-i-Yūz Paki returned on hearing of this, and an engagement took place between him and Arslān Khān-i-Sanjar, and the latter gained the upper hand, and Malik 'Izzuddīn Balban-i-Yūz Paki became a captive: and it is stated that he was martyred. It would appear, that after this Arslān Khān became governor of Bengal, and he was succeeded by his son Tatār Khān, and the latter had been governor for some time when Balban ascended the throne. See Tab-i-Nāṣirī trans., p. 79 et seq. It was that Tatar Khān who sent the elephants.

nauts. (On account of this) the people erected domes in the city, and made rejoicings. Sultân Balban sat in public audience, on the Nagiri Chabutara (platform) outside the Badān gate, and the Amirs, Maliks, Judges, and other great officers all presented themselves, and offered tributes, and were honoured with gifts and rewards. As Sultân Balban was very fond of hunting, he had passed an order that around the city for a distance of twenty *karohs*, game should be preserved. The *Mir shikars* (chief huntsmen) held a high rank in his service; and he had a large number of huntsmen in his employ. In the winter he mounted his horse every morning, and rode as far as the town of Rewâri, and even beyond that, and hunted and returned to the city after nightfall, but he never passed the night outside the city. One thousand horsemen, every one of whom was known to the Sultân, and one thousand others of the class of Nayeke (sergeants) and archers, accompanied his stirrups by turn. All of these received their food from the Sultân's table. When Halakû Khân at Bagdad heard of the Sultân's habit of hunting, he said Balban was a sagacious king; outwardly he showed to the people that he went hunting, but really he took riding exercise; and gave his troops system and order; and always watched over his kingdom. When Sultân Balban heard this, he was pleased; and praised Halakû's discernment; and said that those only knew how to govern kingdoms who had conquered and ruled them.

Owing to the negligence and the weakness of the children of Shamsuddîn, manifest difficulties and dangers had found their way into all matters connected with the government of the realm; and the orders passed and rules framed by them were honoured more in the breach than in the observance. He destroyed with great vigour and sternness the bands of Mewatis who had settled round the city; and had, on account of the neighbourhood being much overgrown with jungle, laid the foundations of turbulence and disturbances; committed highway robberies; and at night entered the city, and broke into the houses; and carried away much property. The roads from all directions were closed on account of these robberies; and merchants could not come and go; and even the gates of the capital towards Mecca (the west) had to be closed for fear of them, after the second prayers; so that no one could go on pilgrimage to the Saints' tombs after afternoon prayers. Repeatedly

the robbers came to the vicinity of the Sultān's reservoir; and gave trouble to the water-carriers, and the slave-girls, who came to draw water. That same year the Sultan, considering that the extirpation of these robbers should be taken in hand, before everything else, had the jungle cut down and rooted up; and made a number of the robbers food for the sword. He built a strong fort at Kawalkar (kilogari) and established thanas, at various places, in the neighbourhood of the city; and divided these jurisdictions among his troops; so that each one might watch over the area assigned to him. After this, the citizens had repose from the turbulence of the Mewātis. When the Sultān had finished cutting down the jungle, and extirpating the Mewātis, he made over the towns and villages in the Doāh to powerful Jagirdārs, who plundered and harried the turbulent men; and slew them; and made captives of their families and children; and in this way totally removed the troubles caused by them. After this, on two occasions, the Sultān went out of his capital, and led his troops towards Kaithal and Patiāli, and put the lawless and turbulent people of these districts to the sword. He opened the road to Hindustān, which according to the special meaning given to the name by the people of India signified Jaunpore and Behar and Bangālāh, which had become closed. From these plundering and ravaging excursions he brought much booty, in the shape of captives and cattle, to Delhi. He built strong forts, and lofty mosques at Kaithal, and Patiāli, and Bhojpur, which had become the residence and the head-quarters of highway robbers. He made over these forts to Afghāns and strengthened the towns by settling bands of Afghāns in them.

In these days he erected the Hisār-i-Jalāli, which had been the residence of highway robbers, and settled Musalmāns there. He had scarcely finished doing these things, when he heard of the disturbance and emeute caused by the people of Kateher owing to the weakness of the feudatories of Badā-ūn and Amroha. The Sultān returned to the capital from Kaithal and Patiāli; and ordered that the army should be ready; and he made it appear to the people that he would march towards the skirts of the hills. Then before the royal pavilion could be brought out, he started with five thousand brave horsemen and made forced marches, and in the course of two nights he crossed the Ganges, at the ferry of Kateher;

and entered the Kateher territory. He then gave orders for plundering and slaying. None except women and children was left alive; and whoever, of the male sex, had reached the age of eight years, was made food for the sword. They made hillocks of the slain. From that time, to the time of Jalāluddīn, no lawless man could raise his head there; and the siefs of Badā-ūn and Amroha had immunity from the wickedness of the Kateher people. After that Sultān Balban returned to the capital in victory and triumph. After a time, he again led his forces towards the skirts of the hills; and plundered those places. The troops got hold of a large number of horses in this expedition, so that the price of a horse was reduced to thirty or forty tangahs. Sultān Balban again returned to the capital in triumph and victory; and every time that he returned from camp, the Judges and other great officers went out two or three stages to receive him; and in the city people erected domes, and had rejoicings. Whatever was given as a thankoffering was sent to the different parts of the realm, and distributed to deserving persons.

After a time he marched towards Lahore, and rebuilt the fort which the Mughals had pulled down; and he made the country round about Lahore, which had been desolated by these ravages, flourish and thrive again. He then returned to Delhi. At this time some people who were conversant with economical questions, said to Sultān Balban that a large body of troops, who had received *jāgīrs* in the time of Sultān Shamsuddīn, were still holding them. There were many irregularities in these *jāgīrs*. The Sultān ordered that those who were aged, and unable to exert themselves, should be exempted from service in the army, and stipends should be conferred on them, so that they might have enough to live upon; and the remainder (of the jagirs) should be resumed. Owing to this, vexation and grief fell upon the people. A number of people carried presents to the Amīr-ul-umra Fakhruddīn Kotwāl; and represented the matter to him. The Malik-ul-umra did not accept their presents, and said, if he took a bribe from them, his words would have little effect. He immediately went to the Sultān, and stood at his place in an anxious and sorrowful attitude. The Sultān saw his grief and wanted to know the cause. He said that he had heard that the Sultān had cancelled (the names of) the aged and had taken away their means of subsistence; and that he was sad, as he did not know

what his fate would be, if they would treat old men in the same way on the day of resurrection. The Sultān knew what he was referring to; the Malik-ul-umra's words affected him, and made him weep. He ordered that the stipends of the old men should be continued, and in nowise resumed.

Couplet.

The Sultan's favour is auspicious to those
Who help the cause of those who are in need.

After a while Sher Khān, the cousin of Sultān Balban, died: they say that the Sultān ordered that poison should be given to him in his drink.¹ Sher Khān was a slave of Altamsh, one of the brotherhood of forty slaves, who had attained to the rank of an Amīr. He had erected the forts of Tabarhindah and Bhatnir, and at the latter place he had also erected a lofty cupola.² He had held the fiefs of Sunām, Lahore, Debalpur and all the fiefs which were situated on the way of the invasion of the Mughals, from the reign of Nāṣiruddīn to that of Sultan Balban.³ He attacked the Mughals several times, and after defeating them had read the Khutbah, in the name of Sultān Nāṣiruddīn, in Ghaznīn, and owing to his bravery and intrepidity, and the number of his troops, the Mughals found it impossible to come into Hindustān. As he knew that Sultān Balban was endeavouring to compass the death of the Shamsi slaves, he never came to Delhi. After his death, Sultān Balban conferred the fiefs of Sunām and Sāmānah on Tamiur Khān, who was also one of the

¹ The word used is *qālā*, which is said to be a liquor made from barley and other things, a sort of beer.

² According to Zia Barni, Sher Khān built a lofty cupola at Bhatnir and founded the fortresses of Bhatindah and Bhatnir. In the lith. ed. *Tarhindah* and in the 'SS. *Tabarhindah*¹ given instead of Bhatindah.

³ This statement is founded on Zia Barni's statement. According to the *Tab-i-Nās.*, however, written by a contemporary, he was not in undisputed possession at any time, and some years before the death of Shamsuddīn, Tabarhindah was entrusted to the charge of Malik Nasrat Khān Sunkar-i-Sufi, and the fiefs of Kol, Fānah, Balārām, Jalisar, Baltārah, Mihir and Mahāwan and the fortress of Gwalior were placed in Sher Khān's charge, and he was there when the pages of the *Tabakat-i-Nāṣirī*, containing his history, was written, in Rajab 658 A.H. (see pages 792 etc. *Tab-i-Nās.* trans.).

company of forty slaves; and made over the other fiefs (which had been held by Sher Khān) to other Amīrs. The Mughals, who in the days of Sher Khān could not come near Hindustān, again began to give trouble on the outskirts of the country. In order to remedy this, Sultan Balban sent his eldest son, Muhammad Sultān, who has become celebrated as the martyred Khān, and who bore the title of K'ān Khān, and was adorned with bodily and mental accomplishments, to Multan.

Before doing so, he conferred on him a canopy of State and a *durbāsh*, and nominated him as his successor. Sind with its dependencies, and appanages, were made over to him. A number of Amīrs and wise men, and a large retinue, were sent to Multān with him. Muhammad Sultān was dearer to the Sultān than his brothers. He always sat or associated with learned and accomplished men. Amīr Khusrō and Amīr Hasan were in his service, in Multān, for five years; and like his other courtiers received stipends and rewards. He held them in greater esteem than any of his other courtiers; and took great delight in their poetical and prose compositions. He was so well-behaved and polite, that even if he sat for a whole day and night, in the seat of authority, he never once raised his knees. He never took any oath except that of *Halḳa* (Ah! God); and even in moments of negligence and intoxication, no harsh word was ever on his tongue.

Couplet.

Politeness doth lend greatness to a man. Do thou
Thy nature with it grace, and great wilt thou then be.

He had great respect for Shaikhs and learned men. They say that Shaikh *Usmān Sarmadī*,¹ who was one of the saintly men of the time, came to Multan. The prince did him honour, presented him with valuable gifts, and prayed that he should take up his residence in Multān, and offered to erect a *Khānḳāh* for him; and to endow some villages for his maintenanece. The Shaikh did not agree and preferred a wandering life. One day this Shaikh and Shaikh *Sadr*-

¹ This word is given as *مزدادی موددی موددی* in the lith. ed. and in the MSS.

uddīn, son of Shaiḡh Bahāuddīn Zakariā, were present in one of the prince's assemblies. The other darwishes who were present were in ecstasies when they heard their Arabic verses, and they all began to dance. He (the prince) was standing in front of them, with his hands on his chest, and wept continuously with the exuberance of his feelings. Arabic poems, of a didactic character, were frequently recited in his assemblies. On such occasions, he would give up other occupations, and listen to them, and show his anguish and shed tears.

They say that one of the daughters of Sultān Shamsuddīn was married to him. Accidentally, in a state of intoxication, he divorced her by uttering the word 'talāḡ' thrice. As there was no remedy, except the ceremony of legalizing it again, the lady was married to Shaiḡh Sadruddīn, son of Shaiḡh Bahāuddīn Zakaria. After consummation of the marriage, when the Shaiḡh was asked to divorce the lady again, she said (to him) that she had sought shelter in his house from that perfidious man; and God would not allow that she should again be made over to his tender mercies. The Shaiḡh then said that he could not be less than a woman; and did not divorce her. Muhammad Sultān being unable to bear separation from her, was about to take his revenge. But it so happened, that at that very time the Mughals came; and he necessarily considered that it was his first duty to lead his troops against them. He did so, and became a martyr. On two occasions he sent messengers from Multān to Shīrāz, to summon Shaiḡh Sa'dī (on whom be the mercy of God!), and sent him sums of money. He offered to erect a Khānḡāh for him in Multān and to endow a number of villages for his benefit. The Shaiḡh could not come, on account of his old age and infirmity; and on each of the two occasions he sent a volume, containing his verses, written with his own hand; and he sent apologies for not being able to come, and recommendations in favour of Amīr Khusro.

Muhammad Sultān came every year from Multān to Dehli to render homage to his father; and presented valuable and elegant things, and received kind treatment from his father and then returned. That year, after which he did not again return, Sultān Balban, at the time of bidding him farewell, sent for him to his private chamber, and said, "I have passed all my life as a *Malik*:

and a *Bādshāh*, and I have gained various experiences. I wish to give you a few precepts about the duties of sovereignty, that they may be of use to you after my death. The first precept is this: that when you sit on the throne of royalty, you do not consider the duties of governing a kingdom, which constitute really a vicegerency of the Great and Almighty God, as something simple and easy; and do not besmireh and debase the glory of the position, which is one of such grandeur, by doing evil deeds and displaying low qualities; and do not make base and wicked men your partners in this great work.

Couplet.

Do not allow the low and the base to come to thee.
The malignant thou canst not make the beneficent.

Another precept is this: that you reserve the sternness and terror of your rank for their right place; and abstain from gratifying the lust of your desires: that you never act except in the way of God; and that you never use your treasures, which are great Divine gifts, except for the glorification of God, and the benefit of your people. Another is: that you always keep the enemies of the true faith, the wicked and the tyrannical, crushed down, under your heel. Another is: that you always keep yourself thoroughly acquainted with the condition and the acts of your deputies and officers, and invite them to perform good deeds and to cultivate praiseworthy qualities. Another is: that you appoint just and pure-minded judges, and rulers, over your people; so that the religion of God may gain further currency and the glory of justice may be better revealed among men. Another is: that both publicly and privately, you always preserve the dignity and grandeur of royalty, and never indulge in any forbidden or unlawful practices.

Couplet.

Oh guard, as thou best canst, thy dignity and awe!
For trifling with the low, thy grandeur doth impair.

Another is: that you confer benefits and honours on energetic, pious, and grateful men; and neglect not to improve their position; and show kindness to skilful and intelligent men, who confer

Complet.

Until you make your footing firm,
Do not in an enterprise embark.

Another precept is this: do not attempt any thing without consulting wise men, and refrain always from doing a thing which can be done equally well by one of your subordinates. The power of discriminating good men from bad is the real test of government, and in all matters the golden mean should be followed: for sternness and severity produce universal hatred; while sloth and slackness bring thoughts of violence and revolt into the heads of the turbulent. Finally, always take the greatest care in your own safety, for therein lies the safety of your people; and keep your court well guarded by faithful and honest watchmen and *serjeants*. Always be kind to your brother, and never listen to any one's words in respect of him; and consider him to be your arm, and support; and confirm his fiefs to him." After giving him these precepts, and conferring the *meisma* of royalty on him, the Sultân sent his son towards Multân.

The same year the Sultân sent his younger son Bughrâ Khân, who bore the title of Nâsiruddin, to Sāmānah, and conferred the fief of that name, and that of Sum'm, on him. When bidding him farewell, he gave him some advice and said, "On arrival there you should raise the pay of your old soldiers, and engage as many new troops as may be necessary; and you should be very vigilant about the invasions of the Mughals; and in all affairs of State you should consult with wise men, who should be in your confidence. You should also represent to me the truth about any matters in respect of which you may have any doubts or perplexity, so that you may do as I may direct." He then forbade his drinking wine, and said, "If after this you drink spirituous liquors I shall deprive you of these fiefs and give you others instead; but you will always be degraded and despicable in my eyes." Bughrâ Khân gave place to his father's precepts, in the ear of intelligence; made righteousness his habit; gave up all evil practices; and became such that if the Mughals invaded Hindustan, Muhammad Sultan from Multân, Bughrâ Khân from Sāmānah, and Malik Bârbak Beg Tars from Dehli could be at once deputed to repel them; and by the time they reached

the river Biah, which was near the town of Sultanpur, these would completely check the disturbance created by them.

After the government of Sultān Balban had acquired stability, and the rivals of his power had been discomfited, and had disappeared, Tughral who was a Turk slave and possessed the qualities of briskness, activity, liberality and bravery, and was the ruler of the Lakhnauti territory, seeing that the Sultān had become old, and had sent both his sons against the Mughals, and was busily occupied with repelling their incursions; and also thinking that he had acquired the necessary forces and equipment, in a headstrong way laid the foundation of revolt, and appropriated to himself the whole of the treasures and the elephants which he had brought from Jājnagar, and did not send any portion of them to the Sultān. He then assumed the royal canopy, gave himself the title of Sultān Maghīsuddīn, and raised the standard of hostility. As he was liberal, nay lavish in his gifts, the inhabitants of the country submitted to him, and accepted his rule; and his affairs became prosperous.

Couplet.

A generous king adherents never lacks,
No one to him doth worthless ever become.

When the news of Tughral's rebellion reached Dehli, the Sultān ordered a force to be mustered; and made Malik Aitakīn Muc-daraz, who bore the title of Amīn Khān, and was the feudatory of Audh, the Commander-in-Chief; and he despatched other nobles, such as Tamar Khān Shamsī, and Malik Tājuddīn, son of 'Alī Khān Shamsī, for the punishment of Tughral. When Malik Aitakīn crossed the Saryu with his army, and set out towards Lakhnauti, Tughral came and met him; and in the battle which ensued, vanquished him. From this action Tughral acquired great power and grandeur. The Sultān, on hearing this melancholy news, was much vexed and grieved, and punished Malik Aitakīn by hanging him at the gate of Andh. He then mustered another army for carrying on the war with Tughral, but the latter defeated it also. The Sultān became still more angry and furious on hearing this; and with a lofty spirit and kingly determination resolved to lead the army himself. He gave orders that a large flotilla of boats should be got

ready and collected in the Jumna and the Ganges, and himself started on a hunting expedition in the direction of Sāmānah and Sunam; and making Malik Sannj, the commandant of the imperial guard, the deputy governor of Sāmānah, took Bughrā Khān with him, with his personal troops, and returning from Sāmānah into the Doab, crossed the Ganges; and took the route to Lakhnauti. He left the Malik-ul-Umra as the regent at Dehli; and owing to his great eagerness, and the high state of preparation (of his army), he did not take heed of the rains, but marched without interruption towards Lakhnauti.

In every thing in the way of household affairs

Repose is better. But in matters of rule

The world belongs to him who is quick.

In the matter of conquest, delay is fatal.

As owing to the heavy rains, and the difficulties of the road, the Sultān was delayed, Tughral took advantage of it, and putting his army in a state of readiness, started in the direction of Jājnagar; intending to conquer that territory, and to remain there for some time; and to return to Lakhnauti, when the Sultān should have returned towards Dehli. The inhabitants (of the province), fearful of Sultān Balban's wrath, and avaricious of his wealth, submitted to him, whether willingly or otherwise. When the Sultān reached Lakhnauti, he halted there for some days; and having re-equipped his army, started towards Jājnagar in pursuit of Tughral. He entrusted the superintendence of the affairs at Lakhnauti to the Sipah-sālār Hisimuddīn and the Wakil-dar, Malik Bārbak. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Sonargaon, Bhojrāi, who was the governor of the place, came to his presence and enlisted himself among his adherents. He promised, that if Tughral should attempt to escape by the sea, he would prevent him. The Sultān then set out, with the greatest promptitude, for Jājnagar. After he had marched some stages, all news of Tughral disappeared; and none could give any clue as to his whereabouts. [The Sultān] then ordered Malik Barbak Beg Tars to take seven thousand picked horsemen with him; and to march ten or twelve kurohs in advance (of the main army). Although scouts went in advance and made enquiries about Tughral, they did not see any signs or traces of him;

till one day, when a detachment of the advanced guard, consisting of Malik Tīrandāz,¹ the feudatory of Kol, and his brother, Malik Muḡuddar, and another man who had² become known as Tughral Kush, with thirty or forty horsemen went in advance as scouts. Suddenly, they came upon a few of Tughral's soldiers, and found out from them that it was less than half a kuroh between the place where they were and Tughral's camp; and the latter was making a halt that day, and he would reach Jājnagar the next day. When the mounted scouts got on the top of the embankment, they saw Tughral's pavilion standing before them, and his soldiers taking their rest, in a complete state of negligence. They drew their swords, and suddenly fell upon Tughral's pavilion. The latter, panic struck, escaped by the bathroom, and mounting a saddle-less horse, jumped into some water which was near his camp. His troops also dispersed with the fear and alarm, which overcame them; and fled in all directions. Malik Mukaddar and Tughral Kush pursued Tughral, and came up to him on the bank of the water. Tughral Kush shot him with an arrow in the side; and he fell off from his horse. Malik Mukaddar dismounted; and cutting off his head, threw his body into the water. He concealed the head under the skirt of his robe; and occupied himself with washing his face and hands. At the same moment Malik Bārbak, who was the commander of the advanced guard, came up and sent Tughral's head with a letter announcing the victory to the Sultān. The next day Malik Bārbak presented himself before the Sultān with the plunder and the captives taken from Tughral's army, and explained how the victory had been achieved. The Sultān was displeased, on account of the carelessness which had been shown by Malik Bārbak; but he ultimately rewarded him, and he bestowed favours and gifts on Malik Tīrandāz, and all the Turks. He also gave equal rewards to Mukaddar and Tughral Kush. Then he returned to Lakhnauti, and punished the relatives and friends of Tughral; and ordered them to be hanged in the market-place of Lakhnauti, so much so, that he even punished

¹ His name is given as Malik Tīrandāz or Malik Sharābdār in different places in the lith. ed. and the MSS.

² The original has been correctly translated in the text; but the meaning apparently is that he became known as Tughral-kush or "the Slayer of Tughral," after he had helped to slay the latter.

a Kalandar, who had been held in honour by him; and the other Kalandars his friends. He also passed orders that other soldiers of Tughral should be punished in Dehli. After this he left Bughrâ Khân in Lakhnauti; after conferring on him the royal canopy, and durbashi, and the other insignia of royalty; and then raised his standards for his return to Dehli.

At the time of his departure, he gave some advice to his dear son. The first precept was this: That it was not right (for the ruler of Lakhnauti) to fall out with, and revolt against, the King of Dehli, whether they were relations or strangers; and if the latter invaded Lakhnauti, the ruler of that province should turn away from him, and go to distant parts. Then when the King of Dehli returned to his capital, he might return to Lakhnauti and go on with his government. The second precept was this: That in levying revenue from his subjects (a King) should follow the golden mean. He should not take so little that they would become refractory and turbulent; nor so much that they would be reduced to helplessness and poverty. He should also pay such stipends to his soldiers, that they might live in comfort from year's end to year's end, and not suffer from penury and privation. Another precept was this: That in affairs of State, he should not undertake anything without the advice of wise men, who should at the same time be his sincere well-wishers.

Couplet.

Wisdom is better than a hundred swords,
The King's crown is better than a hundred diadems,
With policy can the back of an army be broken,
With a sword can only one to ten be slain.

In the passing of decrees, a king should abstain from the lusts of the flesh; and should not act contrary to what is just, for the sake of his own interest. Another precept was this: That (a king) should not be negligent in making enquiries about the condition of his soldiery, which is one of his principal duties; and should consider it incumbent on him to encourage them; and should not go to extremes in any matter connected with them. He should consider any one, who should induce or incite him to do so, as an enemy, and should not listen to his words. Another precept was

this : That a king should certainly place himself under the protection of one who should have turned his back on the world ; and should have placed his dependence on God.

Couplet.

For protection betake thyself to the darwesh's skirts !
'Tis stronger than a hundred of Alexander's walls.

The Sultān should not have anything to do with one in whose heart even an atom of the love of the world should be found, and should not place any reliance on his words or deeds.

After making his son's ears heavy with the pearls of his advice, he bade him farewell ; and turned his face towards Dehli.

The Shaikhs, and the learned and the pious men of every city and town, at which he arrived, welcomed and congratulated him, and offered gifts and presents, and were honoured with robes and rewards. In the large cities, the citizens erected triumphal domes, and made rejoicings. When he passed Badaūn, and crossed the Ganges, the Sayyads and Kāzīs and all the notable men of Dehli welcomed him, and congratulated him in due form ; and were honoured with the royal favour. When he reached Dehli, he gave alms ; and made devout offerings ; and made all deserving people happy. He also went to the houses of learned men, and darweshes, and gave them alms corresponding to their merits, and released prisoners who were in durance on account of debts ; and also remitted the arrears of the rayyats, which appeared in the revenue registers. The Malik-ul-Umra, who had been the regent in his absence, was highly honoured with various favours on account of the wisdom he had displayed in the management of the affairs of State.

The Sultān then ordered that gibbets should be erected in the market-place of Dehli, and the prisoners from the army of Tughral, who had gone from Dehli to Lakhnauti, and had joined him, should be hanged on them. The citizens were in great sorrow and anxiety, as most of the prisoners were their relations and connections ; and went about weeping and lamenting. The Kāzī of the army, who was one of the holy men of the age, went to the Sultān, and using piteous words, softened his heart. After that he interceded on behalf of the offenders ; and the Sultān accepted his intercessions, and drew the pen of forgiveness over their offences.

After this, Muhammad Sultān, the eldest son of the Sultān, came from Multān to see him ; and offered elegant presents, and fitting tribute. The Sultān was delighted at his coming ; showed him many loving attentions ; and then bade him farewell. At this time Tamar with a vast army arrived between Lahore and Dibalpur and a sanguinary conflict ensued : and Muhammad Sultān and some of his amīrs attained martyrdom. In the battle Mir Khusrū was taken prisoner, but was released. Khwaja Hasan wrote the following elegy¹ and sent it to Dehli :—"The tyrannical sky, although for a while it makes a bond of agreement and gives a promise of sincerity (soon) turns ; and inconstant destiny, although for a time it shows itself to be agreeable and gives promise of faith (soon) changes. The treacherous-eyed sky, the pupil of whose generosity is filled with meanness, although, at first like a drunkard, without any reason for liberality, it gives away a thing, yet at the end, although a sense of shame would forbid it, takes it back. The well-known custom of the world is this, as experience and hearsay, what we see, and what we hear, equally teach, that whenever anyone shines like the moon, it (the world) wants to blacken his face of perfect beauty, with the stain of loss ; and whenever any one rises above our heads like a cloud, it (the world) scatters his gem (greatness) in little particles on all sides of the horizon. In this parterre of perplexity, and in this garden of regrets, no flower has ever bloomed without a thorn, and no heart has escaped the thorn of anguish. Ah ! how many young plants are there, which from the effects of the autumn of calamity show a pale and withered face instead of a fresh beauty ; and how many flowers lie trampled in the dust (blown down) by the rough blast of time."

Couplet.

See ! how hath autumn shown its power in my garden fair !
What havoc hath it done to the youthful cypress there !

One of the examples of such vicissitudes is the death of the departed prince Kāeān Malik Ghāzī. May God illuminate his tomb !

¹ The elegy is written in an extremely inflated and involved style and it has been difficult to make sense of portions of it. The first words ديريازست do not make sense.

Couplet.

The moon, like love in a Kafir's heart, was quite unseen ;
And the sun, with uplifted sword, with the army of Islam came ;
the great prince, who was the Sun in the sky of the State, and
the brightness of whose honour shone from his forehead, and
whose zeal for holy warfare was firm, put his auspicious foot in the
stirrup. They explained to his intellect, which was quick in solving
all difficulties, that Tamar had arrived with his army within three
farsangs. When morning broke, he started from the camp on his
march ; and halted at a distance of one farsang from the accursed
ones. He chose as the battlefield a place within the boundaries of
the Bāgh Sarir, on the banks of the river of Lahaur (Lahore), so
that he had in his neighbourhood the water of the Dehandi¹ and a
big swamp. He fortified the place strongly, and arranged that when
the infidels should be opposed to him both pieces of water should be
of use to his army ; as on account of the river, no part of his
troops would be able to take to flight, nor would any danger befall
any part of his army from the infidels. In truth, these precaution-
ary measures showed how great the prudence and how wonderful the
strategy of that world-conquering Khān was. But alas ! When
evil destiny overtakes one, no skill is of any avail ; and the strings
of all plans get entangled.

Couplets.

Him whom doth evil fortune meet,
His affairs to his enemy's wishes fall,
When fortune like a madman goes astray,
Wisdom like the blind into a well doth fall.

² It so happened that on that day the moon and the sun, who
are so intimately connected with kings, hung in the sign of the fish ;
and Mars, the redness of whose face is caused by the blood of the

¹ I cannot make out this word. It is written like Wamandi in the lith. ed. and Dehandi in the MSS. It appears, however, that Dihandah was the name of a river near Ajodhan, S. W. of Dibalpur.

² This extremely inflated passage appears to be mutilated. The lith. ed. and the MSS. differ much, and it is difficult to make sense of portions of it.

nobles of the State, drew the arrows of destruction and the bolts of ruin from the quiver of that sign, and for the K̲h̲ān, who was a lion to the gemini, the signs of disturbances and the thoughts of ruin were clear and manifest from the watery sign, the house of fear and destruction; and the text of "then brothers fled from one another" was written on the leaf [of truth]. In short, at midday, when the horse-man of the sky was in the region of noon, the life of the world-brightening prince drew near the hour of its destruction. Suddenly [a clond of] dust appeared from the direction of those infidels; and the K̲h̲ān Ghāzi mounted his horse that same hour, and ordered that all his soldiers, and adherents, his officers and men should act according to the text, "Kill all the infidels as they would kill you all," drew them up in a line a hundred times stronger than the wall of Alexander, and after arranging the right and left wings, stationed his own highly accomplished person in the centre, like the moon among all the stars ready for a holy war. The heathen Tātars, on whom may there be loss and ruin, crossed the river of Lahore, and confronted the ranks of the Musalmans. These barbarians, born in deserts, and friends of desolation, placed owls' feathers on their accursed heads. The army of Islām, consisting of Turk and K̲h̲alj maliks, and the notables of Hindustan, and the entire body of soldiers, lifted up their hands in the prayer-ground of battle, crying 'God is great'; for the reason that the prophet, on whom be the benediction and peace of God! has identified holy war with prayer; and has said we betake ourselves to holy war against the greatest from holy war against the smallest. In their first onset they brought some of the strongest amongst the tribes of the Mughals under their swords; and the spears of the Maliks in attendance on the prince so stuck in the bodies of the foes, that the blood spurted out from every one of them to the height of the spears, and the plumes of the arrows of the Turks, who were in attendance on the prince, so became interlaced on the persons of the Tātars that no space was left.

Couplet.

At the first onset, the prince's arrow sprung;
The Tātars, all at once, inert became.

Each time that the lion-hearted lord struck with his sword,

which like his faith was stainless, and rushed out from the line of battle, the sword as it were trembled, in the battlefield, for fear of his heroic attributes, and becoming all tongue said to him, "For this one day leave the work of the destruction of these accursed ones to the slaves of thy greatness, and do not move on in thy own gracious person; for the sword hath two faces; and the sword of death is shameless, through intoxication. It cannot be said what will happen to whom, through the decree of the Almighty. I blink my eye (i.e., my eye is dazzled) at thy extreme perfection."

Couplets.

Go not! for I place the dust [of thy feet] on my eyes.
 Do not! for I am afraid of the evil eye.
 The sky hath not such a bright face seen!
 I throw myself on that fire as a sacrifice.

During the time that he was engaged in carrying on the holy war in the field of endeavour, each of the weapons spoke as follows with a tongue suited to its condition. The lance said: "Withdraw, O Prince! thy hand from me, for the tongue of my blade has become blunt with much smiting and slaying; and I have no power left now to strike thy enemy in the face. God forbid that when I strike I make a futile stroke." The arrow said: "Oh! thou! whose true aim has untied the knot of the nodes, go not to attack these wicked men; for I myself in my flight may throw dust on my head. God forbid that the narrow-eyed Turk of the Sky, who is in the fifth mansion, should shoot an arrow of destruction at you, in the way of tyranny and ruin, from the bow of hostility and malvolence, from his place of ambush at the door of the eighth mansion." The lasso said: "You should not allow the string of the place to escape from the hand of thought, to-day; for I am writhing in pain, on account of this hasty war and rash conflict. Delay for a moment in the place of deliberation for Islam and Musalmans are to-day like the entangled ropes of the tents of prosperity. Ah God! do not allow so much amplitude to the custom of lasso-throwing with these people."

Couplet.

I have with gladness put my head in a noose before thee,
 Oh lasso-thrower mine, throw the lasso of thy curls.

In short the prince, the defender of the faith and the destroyer of idolatry, carried on the battle with great energy and vigour against that band of heathens, with the whole main body of his troops, from noon till sunset.

The shouts of the victorious, and the cries of those eager for combat, deafened the ears of the earth, and the hearing of the sky; and the fiery tongues which flew up from the heads of the lances, and the tongues of the swords, which did not err by a single letter in delivering the messages of the angels of death, all uttered the text, that it was the day on which men fled from their brethren. The surface of the earth, like the eyes of old men, who had lost their sons, overflowed with blood; and the face of the sky, like the heads of sons who had lost their fathers, was covered with dust.

Couplet.

Why does the steel of the sword glow like fire, oh father ?¹
That it may place the mark of orphanhood on my heart !

In the very midst of this trouble, the very heart of this danger and confusion, an arrow from the aim of fate suddenly reached the wing of that falcon of the expanse of holy war; and the bird of his soul fled from the cage of the body towards the garden of paradise. At the same moment, the back of the religion of Muḥammād, on whom be the peace and benediction of God ! broke like the wretched hearts of orphans ! and the structure of the faith of Ahmad fell down like the tombs of the poor ! Strength passed away from the arm of the State, and radiance from the sun of Islam ! Exactly at the hour of sunset, the moon of the life of the prince, whose fortune had become pale, set in the west of death. The sky, like a mourner, put on a blue robe, and black tears began to flow over its cheeks. Saturn like a faithful mourner put on a black robe, and shouted lamentations for the prince's death to the people of Hindostan. Jupiter, grieving for that corpse, covered with dust, threw down his blood-stained robe and his torn garments and turban in the dust. The heart of Mars, on account of the prince's death, became narrow like the eyes of the Turks, and the face of his life, like

¹ It is not clear why the question is put to the father ; but the lith. ed. and all the MSS. agree in reading ای پدر !

thy elder brother has made me sad and infirm; I see that the hour of my passing away is approaching. At this time thy absence from me, when I have no heir but thyself, is inexpedient. Thy son Kaikubād and thy brother's son Kaikhusru are both young; and have no experience of the world. If the kingdom falls into their hands, they will not be able, owing to the immaturity of their youth and their hankering after pleasures, to keep it safe. You will have to do homage to either of them, if they sit on the throne of Delhi. But if you ascend that throne, the ruler of Lakhnauti will submit to you, and obey you. You should not, therefore, go away from Delhi. Bughrā Khān, however, had the desire of ruling at Lakhnauti in his heart; and when the Sultān appeared to be slightly better, he started for Lakhnauti, without obtaining leave, on the pretext of going out to hunt. He had, however, not yet reached his destination, when the Sultān's malady grew worse. This time the Sultān sent for the Malik-ul-Umra, Fakhruddin Kotwāl, and gave directions for Kaikhusru being appointed as his successor. After three days, he was united to the mercy of God; and was buried in the Dār-ul-Āmān (the mansion of safety, the royal cemetery).

As Fakhr-ul-Umrā, the Kotwāl, and his adherents, had been hostile to the martyred Khān, the father of Kaikhusru, they sent the latter to Multan under a false pretext.

The period of Sultān Ghiāsuddīn Balban's rule extended to twenty-two years, and a few months.

SULTĀN MU'IZZUDDIN KAIKUBĀD.

After the death of Sultān Ghiāsuddīn Balban, Kaikubād, the son of Bughrā Khān, who was eighteen years of age, was raised to the throne, with the title of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Kaikubād. This prince was adorned with excellent moral qualities. He had always been brought up and educated under the eye of Sultān Balban, and stern teachers and governors had been employed for him. Consequently up to this time, he had not been allowed to enjoy any pleasures, and to satisfy any desires. When he was suddenly freed from all control, owing to the first onset of youth, and of the desire of the pleasures of the senses, he opened wide the doors of pleasures and enjoyment, and preferred the satisfaction of his lusts to the

duties of government. He became entirely devoted to vanity and the worship of self; and as people adopt the religion (and practices) of their rulers, young and old were engrossed with pleasures and amusements. The Sultān left Dehli and laid the foundations of a grand castle, and of splendid gardens, on the banks of the Jumna at Kilokheri; and made it his capital.

Owing to Sultān Mu'izzuddīn's immersion in pleasures and dissipation, harlots, and jesters, and musicians, and singers came to his court from all sides of the world; and as there are many classes of these people in India, the work of dissipation and debauchery went on at a prodigious rate, and the doors of wickedness and prostitution were opened wide; and the names of sorrow and anxiety were forgotten and became obliterated from the hearts of people. The court of the Sultān was perpetually filled and crowded with beautiful women, and sweet singers, and witty men, and courtiers with silvery-tongues. A single moment did not pass without enjoyment and pleasure; and people spent their lives in giving gifts and rewards and in lavishness and prodigality.

Malik Nizāmuddin, who was the nephew and also the son-in-law of the Malik-ul-Umra, Kotwal, became very intimate with the Sultān; and the affairs of the government were entrusted entirely to his judgment. Malik Kawāmuddin 'Ilākā, who was one of the incomparable men of the age, became the Umdat-ul-Mulk (the chief minister) and Naih Vakildar (the deputy representative). As Malik Nizāmuddin was a crafty and deceitful man, the Balbāni Maliks, who were the officers and auxiliaries of the Mu'izzi government, became frightened and anxious, owing to the power and influence acquired by him; and endeavoured to gain his favour. In all affairs of State they kept his wishes before their eyes, and did not allow the string of subservience to escape from their hands. Malik Nizāmuddin was narrow-minded and covetous. When he found that the Amīrs and Maliks were humble and subservient to him, and Sultān Mu'izzuddīn was sunk in debauchery and dissipation, a mad desire of acquiring power and empire, which had really no manner of connection with him, got into his head; and he girded up his loins for the extirpation of the Balbani dynasty. In pursuance of this foolish thought, and mad ambition, he said to Sultān Mu'izzuddīn: "Kaikhusru is a co-sharer with you in the empire, and he is adorned

with princely qualities and regal attributes." He also impressed on his mind the fact that the Amīrs and Maliks were favourably disposed to his cause, and in this way obtained an order for his assassination. Sultān Mu'izzuddīn listened to, and accepted, the words of that deceitful man; and sent an order to Multān for summoning Kaikhusru, and he employed some men to murder that innocent prince on the way. The helpless Kaikhusru started for Delhi in compliance with the order; but at Ruhtak he attained to martyrdom. After this Malik Nizāmuddīn falsely accused the vazīr, Khwajah Khatīr, of an offence, and had him marched round the capital, mounted on an ass. The fear of Malik Nizāmuddīn which had been produced in the hearts of the Amīrs and Maliks became greater, and all men turned to him.

At this time, the intelligence of the approach of the Mughals to the neighbourhood of Lahore came. Malik Barbak Beg Tars and Khan Jahān were sent to quell the disturbance created by them. A sanguinary conflict took place in the vicinity of Lahore, and most of the Mughals were slain; and a number of them were taken prisoners and brought to Delhi. After that, Malik Nizāmuddīn said one day to Sultān Mu'izzuddīn, that the Mughal nobles were all of the same class, and they had many followers. If they united together and acted treacherously, it would be difficult to remedy the evil. With such glossed and specious words, he deceived the Sultān, and obtained permission for the massacre of the Mughal Amīrs; and they were all seized one day and slaughtered. Their families were also extirpated. Some of the Balbani Maliks, who were allied to the Mughal Amīrs, or had friendly relations with them, were imprisoned and sent to distant fortresses. Malik Nizāmuddīn had no compunction about destroying old families; and he did away with Amīr Shāhibak, the feudatory of Multān, and Amīr Yezki, the feudatory of Baran, who had been Amīrs of Sultān Balban, by such pretexts and subterfuges as he could think of. He made the Sultān so subservient to him, that whenever anyone at any time, loyally, and for the Sultān's own good, communicated even a few words about his machinations and plots to the latter, he at once repeated it to him; and had the man seized and made over to him. Malik Nizāmuddīn's wife, who was the daughter of the Malik-ul-Umra, acquired great influence in the Sultān's *haram*; and the

Sultân used to address her by the title of mother. Owing to his great power, the Amirs and Maliks became completely obsequious and subservient to him; and endeavoured by every means that they knew, and could employ, to comply with his wishes; and to protect themselves from his machinations. His threshold became the asylum of high and low; and the dignity and glory of the Mû'izzî court were shattered.

Poetry.

The king who lifts the base to grandeur high,
 Makes every danger great and high; alas!
 The fire, which makes the water boil up high,
 Doth surely bring contempt and danger on itself.

When the Malik-ul-Umra Kotwal became cognizant of the dangerous plots, and the insane machinations, of Malik Nizâmuddin, who stood in the place of a son to him, he sent for him to his private chamber; and endeavoured by means of wise advice and weighty arguments to drive out from his head his absurd designs and evil intentions; but they had no effect whatever. That man with the ill-digested understanding, and the evil-disposed heart, would not attend to his words; and said in answer, "All that you say is right and the contrary is wrong. But as I have made the people my enemies, and they all know what my intentions are, if I now draw back my hand, they will not withhold their hands from me." The Malik-ul-Umra showed his detestation for Malik Nizâmuddin's designs; and was sorely vexed with him. When this became known to the great men, and the notables, they all praised the Malik-ul-Umra; and his farsightedness and his endeavours for the safety of the State became manifest to all.

In short, Bughrâ Khân, the father of Sultân Mu'izz-uddin, who was the ruler of the territory of Lakhnauti and bore the title of Sultân Nûsiruddîn, heard that the Sultân was always immersed in amusements and dissipation, and did not attend to the affairs of government; and that Malik Nizâmuddîn, having destroyed all the Balbanî Amirs and Maliks, and all the useful ministers and officials, wanted to rise in rebellion; and wrote letters giving much advice to his son; and he informed all the Amirs and Maliks by hints and implications. Sultân Mu'izzuddîn, on account of the pride of youth

and the intoxication of wine, did not lend his ears to his father's words; and felt no anxiety about what his father had written to him. When Sultân Nâsiruddîn found that his advice had no effect in his absence, he wished to have an interview with his son, so that he might tell him face to face what he had to say. He sent a letter, written with his own hand, to his son; and said in it: "Oh my son, the desire to see thee has deprived me of all strength; do not let me suffer the pangs of separation any longer; and allow me to have a sight of thee." When Sultân Mu'izzuddîn read his father's affectionate letter, his love was revived, and he sent letters containing loving messages to him, by the hand of persons who were near his throne; and expressed a desire for seeing him. In this way, the chain of affectionate feelings was moved from both sides; and after the interchange of epistles and messages, it was settled that Sultân Mu'izzuddîn should travel from Delhi to Audh; and Sultan Nâsiruddîn should also come there from his capital; and the two kings should meet there; and should have the pleasure of each other's company. The *Kiran-us-Sa'dain* of Amîr Khusrû is the narrative of this meeting between father and son. It appears from Amîr Khusrû's account, that Sultân Nâsiruddîn started from Lakhnauti with the intention of conquering Delhi and destroying his son; and Sultân Mu'izzuddîn also hastened forward for a battle and bloodshed; and it was at Audh that matters were peaceably arranged.

To be brief, Sultân Mu'izzuddîn wanted to hasten alone to meet his father. Malik Nizâmuddîn said that it was inexpedient that the bādshâh should travel such a long distance alone. [He argued that] in matter of State no deference should be shown to the relation of father and son. It was right that the Sultân should march with all pomp, and all the paraphernalia of Empire, and a well-equipped army; so that all the Râys, Rajas and Zemindârs might be impressed with fear and awe at the sight of the splendour and grandeur of the bādshâh; and might behave with complete humility, obedience and subservience. According to Malik Nizâmuddîn's advice the Sultân started towards Audh with a well-equipped army; and with all the pomp and circumstance of royalty. When Sultân Nâsiruddîn heard of this, and knew that it was according to the advice of Malik Nizâmuddîn, he also set out from

Lakhmauti, with a large retinue and troops and elephants, to meet his son. The two armies encamped on the two banks of the Sarayn. For three days messages and letters were interchanged about the arrangements of the interview. Finally, it was settled that the son should sit on the throne; and Sultân Nâsiruddîn should cross the river; and should show due reverence to his son, and should come before the throne. Sultân Mu'izzuddîn ordered his pavilion to be erected, and sat in it with all the grandeur of Kaikhusru and Kaikubâd, and ordered the place of meeting to be arranged and adorned. Sultân Nâsiruddîn dismounted near the ante-chamber, and at three places performed the ceremony of kissing the ground. Then, when he came in front of the throne, Sultân Mu'izzuddîn could not restrain himself any longer; he descended from the throne and fell at his father's feet; and they embraced each other and wept on each other's breasts. Tears flowed from the eyes of the spectators on seeing their condition. The father caught the son's hand, and placed him on the throne; and wanted to stand in front of it. But the son came down again, and made the father sit on the throne, and himself sat down respectfully in front of him. Tangahs of gold and silver were distributed. Poets recited odes and eulogies; musicians sang; and ushers and heralds made proclamations; and carried out all ceremonials of royal pomp and grandeur, connected with grand assemblages, that were customary. The two kings were delighted and charmed with mutual discourse and conversation.

After a time Sultân Nâsiruddîn got up, crossed the river, and went to his own pavilion. The father and the son then sent each other rare and valuable presents, dainty fruits and articles of dessert, and delicious foods and beverages. The soldiers of the two armies were ordered to go to one another's quarters, and to behave like friends. Sultân Nâsiruddîn came on several successive days to the pavilion of his son. The two kings enjoyed the society of each other and held meetings and indulged in various pleasures and enjoyments, and drank with each other. When the day of farewell approached, Sultân Nâsiruddîn said to his son, "Jamsheid said that a king who does not keep so much money in his treasury that he may help his soldiers on the day of the onset of his enemies, and may come to the rescue of his subjects in times of calamity and famine, such a king does not deserve to be called a

king of men," and gave him other advice, such as was specially deserving the attention of kings. Sultân Mu'izzuddîn said, that as he had no benefactor, or sympathiser, who would waken him from the sleep of carelessness, the king should make him acquainted with whatever might be right and proper in all matters; so that he might make it the guide of his conduct and might not allow it to be transgressed in any way. Sultân Nâsiruddîn, in an ebullition of paternal love, said: "I have endured the troubles of this long journey with the one object of making your ears of wisdom heavy with the pearls of advice; of wakening you from the sleep of inattention which was incidental to youth and power and the desire for pleasure; and of doing everything that was required of the love and affection of a father." He then ordered everyone to retire, and directed that Malik Nizâmuddîn and Kawâmuddîn, who was the Umdat-ul-Mulk, might attend; so that he might say what he had to say in their hearing. The two ministers came. Sultân Nâsiruddîn then said with love and pity: "Oh son! when I heard that thou hadst ascended the throne of Dehli, I became extremely pleased. I knew that I had the territory of Lakhnauti already; now I had acquired the territory of Dehli also. Now it is two years, however, that I have heard stories of thy pleasures and dissipation, of thy neglect and inattention; and I am astonished that thou art still safe. From that date, I have mourned for thee and for myself; and I have seen the kingdoms of Dehli and Lakhnauti in the embrace of destruction; and have emptied my heart of all hopes of them; and specially from that day, when I heard that thou hadst ordered my father's servants, who had been brought up under his protection, and who were thy sincere well-wishers, to be slain. Because thou hast ordered them to be slain, others have lost all confidence in thee. I have no hope, no expectation, now in the stability of the empire. Bethink thee of this, my son! that my elder brother, who was fit to adorn a throne, became a martyr in my father's lifetime. His son who was fit to be a king, and who was thy strength and support, thou hadst him destroyed at the instigation of those who wished thee ill; so that they might do away with thee; and the empire of Dehli might pass into the grasp of a strange family and tribe. They would not leave our names, and no vestige of us, on the face of the earth: If thou hast no pity,

oh son ! on thyself, have pity on thy family and offspring. Don't destroy thyself in sport, and take pity on thy own condition, and attend to these few words of advice of mine. The first is this : take pity on thy own life and attend to the reformation of thy nature. The colour of thy cheeks was fresh and red like the rose and the ruby ; it has become yellower than turmeric ! Restrain thyself from the lasciviousness which has made thee weak and emaciated, and do not hanker after it ; for when life itself is in danger, no one can enjoy any pleasure.

Couplets.

A king should not be drunk or mad ;
 He should not, ever, in lusts indulge.
 A king should e'er a shepherd be.
 Alas ! that a shepherd should e'er be drunk.
 When the shepherd is drunk with the red, red wine
 The sheep in the stomach of the wolf will sleep.
 In the rules of empire, and of State,
 Permanence in wisdom lies.

The second counsel is this : that you should refrain from slaying the Amīrs and Maliks ; so that the confidence which the ministers and officials have in you may not be impaired. There are these two men, viz. Malik Nizāmuddīn, and Ḳawāmuddīn, who are ministers of mature understanding and experience. You should select another man like these from amongst the Amīrs ; and should associate yourself with these three ; and consider each one of these one of the pillars of your greatness. You should transact every business which will come up with the consent and advice of these. Make over to one of these the Dewan of the Vazarat (i.e. the office of the Vazīr or chief minister) ; to the second, the Dewan of the Risālat (or the office of the secretary for foreign affairs) ; to the third, the Dewan of 'Arz (or the office of the secretary for petitions) ; and to the fourth, the Dewan of Insha (or the office of correspondence). Allow each of the three to have equal access to you ; although their ranks, in consideration [of the importance] of their duties, may be different. Do not give any of them so much power that it may bear fruit in insubordination and revolt. The third advice is this : that every secret of State which you may have to

reveal, you should disclose in the presence of all the three. Do not place so much confidence in any one of them, that the others may be disheartened. The fourth counsel is this : that you offer your prayers regularly, and fast in the month of Ramazān : so that owing to the non-performance of these two duties, ruin in this world, and in the next, may not befall you. I have heard that one of the deceitful learned men of the age has, in order to please you, given you permission to take your meals during the fast of the Ramazān, and has said, that if you confer freedom on a prisoner of war, or give food to sixty poor men, it will absolve you of the sin of eating during the fast. Have nothing to do with the sayings and doings of such learned men. Advice in religious matters should not be taken from greedy and avaricious learned men, who have made the world the object of their adoration. Questions about the rules of religion should only be propounded to men who have turned their faces from the world, and in the eye of whose spirits riches and the goods of this world have become worthless." He said this, and burst out weeping and sobbing. He then took Sultān Mū'izzuddīn in his arms and bade him adieu. When he held him in his embrace, he said to him, in a whisper, "Get rid of Nizāmuddīn as soon as you can ; for if he gets an opportunity, he will not let you live one day." He said this, and weeping, went back to his own pavilion. That day he abstained from all food, and said to his confidants, "To-day I have said my last farewell to my son and to the kingdom of Dehli."

After that Sultān Mū'izzuddīn marched from Audh toward Dehli. For a few days, he remembered his father's advice and instructions ; and kept himself back from pleasures and dissipation. In spite of the fact that the love of wine and women had become a second nature to him, and his boon companions tried by signs and suggestions to put the chain of dissipation in motion, and incited him, he was prevented by his father's advice, which had become known to everybody, and by shame and modesty, and restrained himself. As the news of his convivial meetings, and the noise of his indulgence in pleasures and dissipation, had reached the various sides and quarters of the globe, bands of beautiful courtesans, and persons who made it their business to minister to the lusts of the rich, came to his court, and every day showed themselves in his

neighbourhood, after adorning themselves and making themselves ready for his companionship, and wanted to be of service to him. As the Sultan had given away his heart for the society of these bands, and had gambled away his life for his desire for them, although he tried to remember his father's advice, yet from time to time the reins of his heart slipped away from his hand, and from moment to moment the fire of desire blazed up. In spite of himself, he cast stealthy glances on the faces and cheeks of the courtesans, and looked at them from the corners of his eyes. It so happened that an artful young courtesan, who was at the head of the beauties of the age, and was the chief of the incomparable ones of the period, with an embroidered cap on her head, a gold-worked robe on her person, and a jewelled belt round her waist, mounted on a steed of Arab strain, came in front of the royal canopy at the time of starting, and showed a hundred blandishments and coquetish gestures. She displayed her wonderful arts, and her graceful movements, which bordered on the region of magic, and recited this couplet with a dainty voice—

Couplet.

If on my eyes, oh love! thy foot thou'lt place.

My eyes on thy path will I throw, so thou mayest o'er them pass.

After that, she said, "I believe that the opening lines of the ode are more appropriate to the circumstances of the case; but I cannot recite them out of respect for thee!" The Sultân said, "Recite them, and fear not." She sang—

Oh eypress of the Silvery hue! to the desert dost thou roam.

A wondrous promise-breaker thou! that leaving me thou wouldst go.

The Sultan was so astonished and wonder-struck at the sight of her world-illuminating beauty, and the spectacle of her charming figure and gestures, that he forgot all his father's counsel on the instant. He lost all control over himself, and stood on the road and talked with that breaker of vows. He dismounted and called for wine, and halted at that very spot. He arranged a meeting of his boon companions, and sat engrossed with the sight of her dancing. He then repeated this couplet:

At night I wine renounce, for fear of the blandishments of the Fair.

At dawn the face of Phœbe to the wine-cup doth me drag.

When that witty wanton heard this couplet from the mouth of the Sultan, she said in reply :

My saint-alluring coquetry, a recluse of a hundred years,
Takes by the forelock of his head ; and to the distant wine-shop drags.

The Sultan was struck with surprise and wonder at the beauty of her intellect and the brilliance of her repartee. He made her his cup bearer. After a show of humility and reverence, she said—

“ Although I'm fairer than the moon !

I'm yet a slave of the slaves of the king !”

and filled the cup and placed it in the Sultan's hand. The latter took it from her hand, and repeated these couplets to express his passionate love : —

“ When the cup comes round to me, give it to my comrades here ;

And pass me by, that on Phœbe's face my wondering eye I may fix.

If thou wilt deign my cup-bearer to be, Oh love !

Who dare declare that wine is sinful and impure.

He said this and drained the cup. The Amirs and Maliks began once more to indulge in dissipation and debauchery. The next day the Sultan started from that place. He held convivial meetings at the different stations, and indulged in amusements and pleasures till he reached Dehli. He took up his quarters in the castle of Kilokhari. The citizens made great rejoicings on the return of the Sultān, and had feasts, and built ornamental domes. The indulgence in pleasures, and feasting and rejoicing, became so universal in the days of Sultān Mu'izzudīn, that in every lane and quarter of the town people drank wine publicly and held feasts. Care and anxiety left the heart of the people, and insouciance took their place. When a few months had passed in this way, the Sultan became ill, and his great lasciviousness and constant drinking made him weak and feeble.

At this time he wanted, according to his father's advice, to remove Nizāmuddīn; but he could not come to any wise determination in the matter; and on the spur of the moment said to him, "You should go to Multān, and attend to the affairs of that fief." Malik Nizāmuddīn knew that the Sultan wanted to get him out of the way, delayed in starting, and made various excuses. But those who were near the Sultan's person, and who had always been anxious to encompass the death of Malik Nizāmuddīn, removed him, as soon as they became aware of the Sultan's intentions, by giving him poison.

Couplet.

As he did not spare to shed the blood of men,
Time's self its sword in his life blood did imbrue

Those in power then sent for Malik Jalāluddīn Fīroz, who was the Governor of Sāmānah, and had been the commander of the guards of the palace, from that fief; and appointed him to be the commander of the forces of the empire, and made him the feudatory of Baran, and conferred on him the title of Shāistah Khān. They made Malik Āitamar Kujan the Bārbak (the master of ceremonies); and Malik Āitamar Surkhah the Vakil-dar (the representative in the council); and the various offices were distributed anew among the nobles. In the meantime, the Sultan's illness became worse. He was seized with paralysis, was confined to his bed, and could not attend to any business. The desire of seizing the empire entered the heads of all the great nobles; a madness seized every heart, and a vain ambition took possession of every breast. Some of the Balbani nobles, in gratitude for the favours they had received from the family, brought the son of Sultan Mu'izzuddīn, who was still a mere child, out of the *haram*; and giving him the title of Sultan Shams-ud-din, placed him on the throne. They erected the royal pavilions and tents on the Nāsiri Chabutara; and kept the young Sultan there. The Amīrs and Maliks encamped round the pavilion. Sultan Mu'izzuddīn, who was really past all treatment, was kept under treatment in the castle of Kilokhari.

Malik Jalāluddīn Fīroz Khālji, who was the commander of the forces, encamped at Bahāpur with all the Khāljis who formed a large body and mustered the forces. Malik Āitamar Kujan, the

Bārbak, and Malik Āitamar Surkhah the Wakil-dar, and all the Balbani Amīrs, combined together, and determined that such of the nobles as were strangers, and were not real Turks, should be removed out of the way. They made a list of their names. The name of Malik Jalāluddīn Khalji was in that list. When the latter became aware of this, he collected his men, and brought together all the Khalj Amīrs and Maliks, and he also got some other Amīrs to join them. At this time, Malik Āitamar Kujan, Bārbak, mounted, so that he might induce Malik Jalāluddīn Fīroz by false pretences to come (to their camp), and there assassinate him. As Malik Jalāluddīn Fīroz had become aware of this design, as soon as Malik Āitamar Kujan came to the door of the tent, he was dragged down from his horse and hacked to pieces.

Couplets.

Place not thy foot on the path of treachery ;
 For in the end into the snare thou'lt fall.
 Hast not, from the traveller on this path, thou heard,
 That who so dug a well, into it he fell ?

And the sons of Malik Jalāluddīn, who were brave and courageous, went with five hundred horsemen into the royal pavilion, took Sultān Shamsuddīn from the throne, and carried him, and the sons of the Malik-ul-Umra, to Bahāpur to their father. They killed Malik Āitamar Surkhah, who was pursuing them, on the way. As the notables and the common people of Dehli did not like that the Khalj should gain the mastery, they came out in large numbers, with the intention of assisting Sultān Shamsuddīn ; and assembling together, in front of the Badā-ūn Gate, determined to attack Malik Jalāluddīn Fīroz. But the Malik-ul-Umra turned them away, and dispersed them, in order to save his own sons, who were in the custody of Malik Jalāluddīn ; and most of the Amīrs and Maliks joined the latter. A Malik whose father had been killed by order of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn, went into the castle of Kilu Khari, and giving him, who had only a little life left in his body, a few kicks, threw him into the river.

Sultān Mu'izzuddīn's reign lasted for three years and a few months.

J SULTAN JALĀLUDDĪN KHALJĪ.

I have seen in one of the authoritative histories, that the tribe of Khalj are the descendants of Kālij Khān, son-in-law of Chengiz Khān; and his story is this. He had an unpleasantness with his wife, the daughter of Chengiz Khān. For fear of the latter, he had no alternative but to simulate softness and courtesy. He was all along looking for a release, a means of escape, but could not find any. At last when Chengiz Khān defeated and crushed Sultān Jalāluddīn on the bank of the river Sind, and having freed his mind of all anxiety about Irān and Turān, returned towards his own country, and at about the same time passed away; Kālij Khān, who had carefully examined the hilly country of Ghur and Gharjistan and their strength and inaccessibility, settled down there with his family and tribesmen, who numbered about three thousand families. As Chengiz Khān was dead, and none of his sons took any notice of his movements, he remained there: and his descendants multiplied. As the Sultāns of Ghūr and its dependencies conquered Hindustan, the Khalj, owing to their being in the neighbourhood, came at different times into that country, and entered into service there, and attained to high rank. The father of Sultan Jalāluddīn and the father of Sultan Mahmud Khaljī Mandvi, who are among the great and successful Maliks and renowned Sultāns, were grandsons of Kālij-Khān. Kālij became Khālīj by a change of letter, and by frequency of use became Khalj. According to the author of the Saljuḡnamah (however) Turk the son Japhet had eleven sons, one of these was named Khalj. His descendants are called the Khalj.

In short, Sultan Jalāluddīn set out from Bahāpur with a large following, and rode to the eastle of Kilukhari, and for a few days he remained there as the deputy of Sultan Shamsuddīn. Then in the beginning of the year 688 A.H. he ascended the throne. He sent Malik Jhaju Kashli Khān, the nephew of Sultān Ghiāsuddīn, to Kara, after conferring that territory on him. The nobles who were on his side, as well as those who were hostile to him, did homage to him, willingly or otherwise. As the residents of the capital were, however, not well-disposed to him, he, mindful of this, did not go into the city, and did not sit on the throne, on which the Sultāns had all along sat. He remained at Kilukhari, and ordered the Mu'izzi

castle (i.e. the castle which Sultan Muʿizzuddīn Kaikubād had commenced) to be completed; and laid out a new garden in front of it on the bank of the Jumna. The Amīrs and Maliks, also, built houses there. The foundations of a citadel of stone were laid, and in a short time, the citadel, and houses, and mosques, and a market were erected; and the place obtained the name of the new city. As Sultan Jalāluddīn's government acquired stability, and the report of his piety, and patience, and modesty, and justice, and benevolence spread among men, the people of the city—young and old—all came forth, and rendered homage—and the Shaikhs, and the learned men, and the headmen of the various caste, received gifts and benefactions. The charge of the different fields and the various court appointments were distributed among the nobles. The eldest son of the Sultan received the title of Khāns-Khānān, his second son of Arkah Khān, and his third son of Kadh Khān, and a parganah or territory was assigned to each. The brother of the Sultan received the title of Baghrash Khān and was made the commander of the forces. Amandīn and Ulugh Khān, who were the two nephews and sons-in-law of the Sultan, became respectively the *Amir buzurg* (the first noble) and the *Althayari* (the second noble); and Malik Ahmad Hab, the son of the Sultan's sister, the naib (deputy) and Bārbak (master of ceremonies); and Malik Khurram the *Vakildar* (representative of the sovereign in the darōar). Khwajah Khatir became the *Varz* (minister), and the Malik-ul-Umra the *Kotwāl*. Repose and contentment now appeared among the people, high and low. The Sultan then went into the city with great pomp and splendour, and with his army in brilliant array. He dismounted at the palace gate, and bowed down twice in prayer; and sitting on the throne of the Sultān said, "For years I have bowed my head before this throne. To-day I have been enabled to put my foot on it. How can I sufficiently express my gratitude to God for this!" He then mounted his horse, and rode towards the ruby Kiosk, and there dismounted at the gate, as he had hitherto been accustomed to do. Malik Ahmad Hab, Bārbak, who was the *Umdat-ul-Mulk* (the support of the state) represented, with all deference, that the ruby Kiosk now belonged to the Sultan and there was no reason why he should dismount at the gate. The Sultān said that under all circumstances, one should show reverence to one's benefactor. Malik Ahmad Hab then said, that the

Sultan should reside in the Kiosk, which was the royal residence. The Sultan said in reply, that Sultan Balban had built it when he was a Khān; and it was now the property of his descendants; and he had no kind of right to it. Malik Ahmad Hab replied, that such strictness was not possible in matters of State. The Sultan answered, that he could not transgress the rules of Islam, and act contrary to what was right and just, for the sake of temporary worldly expediency.

Couplet.

Can religion and reason e'er decree
That the wise, for this world, the next should sacrifice ?

He then went into the ruby Kiosk on foot. He did not sit down at the place where Sultan Ghīāsuddīn used to sit, out of respect to the latter, and sat in the line which had been assigned to the Amīrs. He then said to the Amīrs and Maliks: " May worse evil befall the houses of Aitamar Kujan and Aitamar Surkhah ! for if they had not acted deceitfully and treacherously towards me, I would not have fallen into this danger ; and should have passed the remaining days of my life performing the duties of a Khan or a Malik. Now I can not even imagine what the end will be ! Seeing that in spite of the power and grandeur of Sultan Balban, the length of his rule, and the greatness of his ministers and councillors, the empire did not remain with his descendants, will it remain with me ? and after me, what will happen to my offspring and dependants ? " Some of the Amīrs present, who were wise and experienced, were saddened on hearing these words, and sympathized with him ; others who were young and reckless, censured him, and said, " This man has just become a king ; and he is already apprehending the decline of his rule. The vigour and sternness which should always characterize a ruler of men can not be expected of him. " At the close of the same day Sultān Jalāluddīn returned from the city and went to Kilu Khari and made that his capital.

The year after the Sultan's accession, Malik Jhaju, nephew of Sultān Balban, who was the feudatory of Karah, raised the standard of hostility ; and had prayers read, and coin struck, in his own name ; and gave himself the title of Sultān Maghīssuddīn. Amīr Ali Sarjāndār, the Governor of Audh, who was called Hātīn

Couplet.

'Tis easy, evil with evil to reward ;
If man thou art, do good for evil done.

They hung their heads down for shame, and were tonguetied with bashfulness. The Sultân, in order to remove their agitation, said, " You drew your swords in the cause of your benefactor, and

1 Form MSS. A A B. The lith. ed. has Kalakar and MS. C. Kalatalkar.

did what the salt you had eaten and the fealty you had sworn demanded. This cannot be deemed to be blameworthy on your part.” He ordered Malik Jhaju to be placed in a litter, and sent him to Multan; and he ordered that he should be confined in a house there, and should be treated with all honour, and provided with all articles of luxury and pleasure, which he might ask for. Malik Ahmed Hab and all the Khalj Amirs were displeased at the kindness which the Sultan had shown to the prisoners. They pointed out to him, that the generosity which he had displayed to this body of men, who deserved death, was contrary to the rules of empire, and nugatory of all principles of government. For if, they argued, due punishment was not meted out to men who created disturbances and raised rebellions, and their blood was not shed, the desire of power, and the lust of empire, would enter the heads of all, and how many revolutions would take place! The punishments which Sultán Balbán inflicted on rebels, and the seas of blood which he shed, most of these things, they said, had passed before the eyes of His Majesty; and the dread of it had not yet been obliterated from the hearts of men. Then, they said, that if they themselves had fallen into the enemies’ hands, would the latter have left the name or any vestige of the Khaljis on the face of the earth? They argued, therefore, that not to punish them would be contrary to all sound policy.

Couplets.

’Tis better that the rebel’s head should fall,
 That a traitorous army should be scattered wide.;
 No fresh green twig will the cypress adorn
 Till thou cuttest off the old and withered branch.

The Sultan said in reply: “What you all say is right and accords with the rules of imperial policy. But what can I do? For seventy years have I lived like a Musalman; and have never shed the blood of a Musalman. Now that I am old and have only a few years to live, I do not wish to imbrue my hand with a Moslem’s blood; and gain for myself the name of a despot and tyrant. And if we had fallen into their hands, and they had shed our blood, the burden of answering for it, to-morrow, on the

day of judgment, would have been on their shoulders and not on ours. I have been for years one of Sultān Balban's servants, and the debt of gratitude for his favours is heavy on my shoulders. I have taken possession of his kingdom. It would be the height of baseness and injustice if, in addition, I slew his adherents and dependants." After the Sultān had returned from Badā'ūn he sent for 'Alauddin, who was his son-in-law as well as the son of his brother, and who had been brought up by him, to Karah, after conferring that fief on him. When he arrived in Dehl, crowned with success and victory, the citizens erected ornamental domes and made rejoicings.

Owing to Sultān Jalāluddin's patience, and disinclination to cause pain, many of the Amirs and Maliks said that he did not know how to rule a country, and govern an empire. It is said that thieves and robbers were repeatedly seized, and brought before him. He bound them by oaths not to commit thefts again : and released them. He used to say that although in a war he could rout an army, and could shed much blood, yet he could not order a man, who had been seized and brought before him, to be slain. On one occasion, one thousand highway robbers were brought before him. He did not order one of them to be executed ; but put them all in boats, and sent them away to Lakhmauti. Fines and amercing, and imprisonment and torture, and greed for other people's wealth, which are the characteristics of despots and tyrants, were never perpetrated by him during the whole time of his sovereignty. It is said, that some ungrateful wretches, in whose natures wickedness was ingrained, and who were utterly destitute of all manly feelings, held meetings in which they drank wine, and talked how they could bring about the downfall of the Sultan. When the news of these gatherings reached him, he was not moved in any way ; and said that men who were drunk, should not be held responsible for words which they might utter in their state of intoxication. One day Malik Tāj-ud-din Kūjī invited some great Amirs to his house, to a drinking party. When they were all drunk they said, "Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn is not fit to be the king. Malik Tāj-ud-din is the fittest person for the throne" They all swore allegiance to him. One of them said, "I can finish him with this hunting knife" ; another, "I can cut

off his head with this sword." The others bragged in the same way. When the Sultán heard this he sent for them, and by way of a challenge, he drew his sword from the seaboard and threw it down in front of them. He said then: "If any of you is man enough, he should take up this sword, and should stand up in front of me; so that he may know what real courage is." Malik Nasrat Sabbáh, who was a witty and fine-tempered man but who had himself uttered some nonsense at the meeting, said: "Your Majesty knows that words uttered by drunken men in a state of intoxication have no meaning. We, whom the Sultán has cherished and brought up like his sons, know that we will never have a King with patience, and forbearance, and dignity like his. Therefore we cannot plot against him. The Sultán will also find no loyal and faithful Maliks and Malikzádahs like us, and we know that he will not assent to our ruin and destruction." These words affected the Sultán; his anger subsided; he called for wine; and offered the eup with his own hand to Malik Nasrat Sabbáh. At the same time he ordered the conspirators to go to their respective fiefs; and to remain there for some time.

Couplet.

The sword of patience sharper is than sword of steel,
Yea! Better than a hundred hosts, it victory doth gain.

In respect of offences committed by those who were near him, he did not inflict any corporal chastisement on the offenders; nor did he imprison them. When he conferred a fief on any person he did not again take it away.

It is said that at the time when he was the commander of Sultán Balban's guard, and held the fief of Sámánah Maulánā, Sirájuddin Sádi, who was one of the poets of the age, held a village among those included in the fief of Sámánah, by way of subsistence allowance. Sultán Jalāluddin¹ demanded rent from the Moulánā, as he did in the case of other grantees. The Maulánā was displeased at this, and wrote verses in praise of the Sultán (apparently

¹ This anecdote has been given, in a somewhat confused style, in the original, owing to the author's insisting on giving the title of Sultán to Jalāluddin, even before he ascended the throne.

either Ghiāsuddīn Balban or Mu'izzuddīn Kaiḡubad); and inserted in them some complaints against his officers. Sultān Jalāluddīn appeared to pay no attention to the Maulānā, owing to his having many other things to attend to. The Maulānā was grieved at heart, and wrote some satirical verses against Sultān Jalāluddīn, and gave them the name of *Khaljnāmāh*. At that time Sultān Jalāluddīn was still the Governor of Sāmānah. The *Khaljnāmāh*, which contained some bitter satire, reached the Sultān. The Maulānā, fearing that the Sultān would try to have his revenge for the satire, left Sāmānah and took up his residence at another place. About the same time the Sultān ravaged a village belonging to some Mundāhirs. A Mundāhir confronted the Sultān, and inflicted a wound on his face, the marks of which remained till the day of his death. When Sultān Jalāluddīn ascended the throne, Maulānā Sirājuddīn and that Mundāhir appeared before him, with halters round their necks. The matter was reported to the Sultān. He immediately sent for them; and took the Maulānā in his arms; conferred gifts and a robe of honour on him; fixed a pension for him; and ordered that he should from that time attend before the throne like other notables, and make his salutations. He also granted favours on the Mundāhir.

One day the Sultān said to Malkah-i-Jahān his wife: "When the great officers and judges come to the gate of the *haram* to offer their congratulations to you, tell them that they should request me that they might be allowed to describe me in the *Khutbah* as "the warrior of God." About that time the marriage of Kadr Khan, the youngest son of the Sultān, with a daughter of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn, took place; and the great officers went to offer their congratulations. They approved of the message (which Malkah-i-Jahān apparently sent to them) and said that as the Sultān had repeatedly drawn his sword in the wars with the Mughals and had fought with them, it was not only allowable, but even right and proper that he should be called "the warrior of God." When the great officers and judges again went to congratulate the Sultān on the first day of the month, and were honoured by being allowed to kiss his hand, Kāzī Fakhruddīn Bāḡlah, who was the most learned man of the age, dissimulated his real opinion, and represented to the Sultān by the mouth of some of the others,

who were present, that they should describe the Sultān in the Khutbah as "the warrior of God." The Sultān said, "I know Malkah-i-Jahān has asked you to suggest this, at my own request; but I thought over the matter at that very time, and came to the conclusion that I had not, at any time, waged war with the enemies of God, in His cause alone, without any admixture of a worldly object, and I repented myself of the intention which I had formed, and gave up the idea altogether."

At the time when Sultān Jalāluddīn was the commander of the imperial forces, he conferred many favours on Amīr Khusrū; made him the keeper of the kurāns; and specially honoured him by granting him the white robe and belt, which were reserved for the great nobles. The Sultān mixed in a friendly way with the persons who were invited to his drinking parties, and did not require any elaborate observances from them; and treated them almost as equals. His companions at the convivial meetings were Malik Tājuddīn Kūji, Malik Fakhruddīn Kūji, Malik Izzuddīn Ghūrī, Malik Karā Beg, Malik Nasrat Sabbāh, Malik Ahmad Hab, Malik Kamāluddīn Abul Ma'ālī, Malik Nāsiruddīn Kuhrāmī and Malik Saīduddīn Mantakī. These Malikhs were unequalled at that time for the sweetness of their natures, the elegance of their manners, and their courage and manliness. Tajuddīn Irākī Amīr Khusrū, Mīr Hasan, Mūed Jājarmī, Mūed Dewānah, Amīr Arslan Kalāhī, Ikhtīār Bāgh and Bāki Khatīb were included among the courtiers; and each of these excelled in the composition of verses, and in the knowledge of history. The court of the Sultān was always adorned with sweet-voiced reciters of odes, like Amīr Khāsah and Hamīd Rājah, and charming cupbearers, like the sons of Haibat Khān, and Nizām Kharitadār; and incomparable musicians, like Muhamīmad Shah Jangī and Fattuh Khān and Nasrat Khān. Amīr Khusrū used to present new odes at the court of the Sultān, and rewards and favours were conferred on him.

Among the strange occurrences of that period, was the affair of Sidi Maulah. This matter may be briefly narrated in this way. A darwesh of the name of Sidi Maulah appeared in Dehli, and took up his quarters there. He opened the door of charity and almsgiving on the face of the people. As he did not take anything from anybody, and he had no fixed pension or stipend,

people were struck with wonder at his excessive expenditure and his lavish gifts. Many persons said that he was versed in alchemy and natural magic. He laid the foundation of a great Khánkáh; and spent large sums on it. Most of the travellers by sea and land stopped in it, and every day his table was spread twice. A thousand maunds of flour, five hundred maunds of roast meat, and three hundred maunds of sugar were consumed daily; and all sorts and conditions of men attended the tables, and many people used to attend at the gate of the Khánkáh. Most of the Amirs and Maliks of Sultán Jaláluddín became the disciples and friends of Sidi Maulah. He practised great austerity, and confined himself to dry bread and pot herbs in the way of food. He had no wife or slave girl. He performed *namáz*; but did not attend the public *namáz* on Fridays; and he did not comply with the rules of meeting together for prayer, as had been customary from ancient times. Before Sidi Maulah came to Dehli, he went to Ajodhan, and rendered service to Kutb-i-'Álam Farid-ul-Hak-Wad-din; may the mercy of God rest on him! and he remained there for a few days. At the time of bidding him farewell, the Sheikh said, "Shut on thy face the door of the coming of Kings; and have nothing to do with crowds; and hanker not after fame."

Couplet.

Lay not thy heart on the fire! for though 'twould make thy
face aglow,

A time will come when 'twill a hundred granaries consume.

But Sidi Maulah could not preserve himself.

Couplet.

A hundred tales the ear of greed doth hear;

But not a word doth any impression make!

He made Khán-i-Khánán, the eldest son of the Sultán, a believer in his powers and a disciple, and called him by the name of son. He also made Kází Jalál Káshání, one of the great men of the age, his friend and well-wisher. Some of the Balbani Maliks, who in the present reign had no fiefs, and no means of subsistence, were always in attendance and doing service at the Khánkáh; as

they received various benefits from Sidi Maulah. Men began to think that he wanted to seize the country by the help and assistance of these persons. When this came to the knowledge of Sultān Jalāluddin he gave orders, and Sidi Maulah and his disciples were seized and brought before him. Although the poor man asserted his innocence and took solemn oath, it was of no avail. The Sultān ordered that a fire should be kindled on the plain of Bahápur. This was done, and the flames rose up to the sky. He also ordered the learned and great men of the city to attend. Then he ordered that Sidi Maulah and his adherents should be dragged into the fire; so that the truth, or the falsehood about him, might become patent. The learned men of the day, who were present on the scene, represented to him that it was in the nature of fire to burn: to make it the test of truth or falsehood was contrary to reason and forbidden by the law. The Sultān having heard this from the learned men, desisted from his inhuman design. But he sent Kāzi Jalāl, who was accused of creating disturbances, to Badáún, to be the Kāzi there. He sent away the other Maliks, whom he knew to be the well-wishers of Sidi Maulah, to distant parts of the country; and ordered some of them to be otherwise punished. When Sidi Maulah was brought under arrest before the Sultān, the latter began arguing with him. He replied; and no offence was proved against him, either according to the law or to reason. The Sultān then turned to Sheikh Abu Bakr Tusi Haidari, the chief of the Haidari Kalandars (Fakirs or Monks), and exclaimed: "Oh Darweshes! avenge me on this tyrant!" A reckless Kalandar of the name of Bahri jumped up, and struck Sidi Moulah some blows with a razor; and wounded him with a packing needle. Arkali Khān, the second son of the Sultān, signed to his elephant-driver to drive the elephant over Sidi Maulah. He did so, and made him a martyr. Tradition says, that on the day that Sidi Maulah was killed, there was a storm, and the world became dark. That year there was a drought, and there was a famine in Dehli; so that the Hindus, unable to bear the pangs of hunger, went in bodies, and threw themselves in the Jumna, and were drowned in the sea of destruction.

In this year 689 A.H. the Sultān marched with an army towards Ranthambor, and left Arkali Khan, his second son, at Kilukhari, as his deputy; as his eldest son, the Khān-i-Khānān, was now dead.

Immediately on his arrival, he seized Jhāin,¹ and destroyed the temples there; plundered much wealth, and carried away much booty. The Rajah of Ranthambhor shut himself up in the citadel. The Sultān besieged the fort for a few days, and then returned (to Dehli). He said, "The capture of the fort does not deserve that one man should die for it.

Couplet.

The empire of the world, by my manliness, I swear,
Doth not deserve that a drop of blood on the earth should
fall.

Granted that I seize the fort and put these creatures of God to the sword, to-morrow, when the widows and orphans of the slaughtered men will come to me, and my eyes will fall on them, what will be my condition: and will not the taste of the capture of the fort be bitterer in my mouth than poison?"

In the year 691 A.H. the Mughals of Chengiz Khān invaded Hindustan with a large army. The Sultān set out with the mighty imperial forces to repel them. When the armies approached each other and met, warriors eager for adventure engaged in several skirmishes. The Mughal leaders, recognizing the superiority of the Sultan's troops, commenced negotiations. The Sultān gave the name of son to the Mughal leader, who was a relation of Halāku Khān; and the latter called him father, and they met each other from a distance.² Choice gifts and presents were sent from both sides. The Mughal army then retraced its steps; but Alghu, the grandson of Chengiz Khān, with some Mughal noblemen joined the Sultān. They all became Musalmans, and Alghu was honoured with the hand of one of the Sultān's daughters. Ghīāspur was assigned to the Mughals for their residence, and its name was changed to Mughalpūr; while the Mughals got the name of the Neo-Moslems.

At the end of the year, the Sultān marched against Mandú³ and

¹ The lith. ed. has جہان Jhāno and the three MSS. جہان جہان and جہان Jhan, Jhāban and Jhāin respectively.

² It would appear that the "father" and the "son" did not have much confidence in each other.

³ The place is called Mandu in the lith. ed. In the three MSS. it appears as سندھو مندو and هندو. It is difficult to say what place is referred to. It may be Māndu or Mandwar.

ravaged and plundered the neighbouring country. About the same time Malik 'Alāuddīn, the nephew of the Sultān, begged that he might have permission to march against Bhīlsah and pillage those tracts. He received the necessary orders, and went and ravaged the country and brought much booty for the Sultān's service. He also brought two brass idols, which had been the object of the worship of the Hīndus of those parts : and cast them down in front of the Badā-ún Gate to be trampled upon by the people. This achievement of Malik 'Alāuddīn earned the commendation of the Sultān, who raised him to a higher rank ; and conferred many royal favours on him. He gave him the territory of Audh as an additional fief. When Malik 'Alāuddīn found the Sultān to be so favourably inclined towards him, he submitted a representation, asking for permission to enlist additional troops, with the surplus revenue of his fiefs, so that he might with the aid and help of his old and new soldiers invade the territory of Chanderi and its vicinity, which contained an abundance of riches ; and might bring much booty ; and rise higher in the estimation of his Sovereign. The Sultān at once granted the prayer ; and Malik 'Alāuddīn bidding him farewell went from Dehli to Karah. He had, however, suffered much vexation at the hands of Malkah-i-Jahān, his mother-in-law, and could no longer bear her tyranny and oppression ; and he had never been able to bring his troubles to the notice of the Sultān, as Malkah-i-Jahān had very great influence over the latter. He had therefore been thinking for some time that he would, by some pretext or other, go away to some place outside the Sultān's dominions ; and take possession of the country, and live there. As he had now got an opportunity, he at once took advantage of it ; and having completely armed and equipped his old and new troops, started from Karah, leaving Malik 'Alā-ul-Mulk, who was a special friend of his, as his deputy in Karah and Audh. He marched towards Deogīr ; but made a pretence of going to plunder and ravage the country round Chanderi. He marched through Elichpur. As there was no news from him for some days Malik 'Alā-ul-Mulk wrote to the Sultān, in order to satisfy the latter that Malik 'Alāuddīn was engaged in plundering and ravaging the territory of Chanderi ; and his petition containing the news of his victories would reach the throne in the course of a day or two. The Sultān was satisfied with

this ; as he had no knowledge of the trouble which Malik 'Alāuddīn had suffered at the hand of Malkah-i-Jahān. He was his nephew and son-in-law, and had besides been brought up by him from his youth. No suspicion of any perfidy from him, therefore, ever entered his mind. At that time Rām Deo, the ruler of Deogīr, had gone away, with his son, to a distant place. When he heard that Malik 'Alāuddīn had entered the Deogīr territory, he met him with a large force of Rāys and Rānas. Malik 'Alāuddīn routed that army ; and conquered Deogīr. In the end Rām Deo came and made his submission. Forty elephants and some thousands of horses from Rām Deo's palace stables fell into Malik 'Alāuddīn's hands : and so much booty was obtained, consisting of gold and silver, and gems and pearls, and various kinds of goods and fabrics, as was beyond the count and estimation of the intellect. As no news had been received of Malik 'Alāuddīn for a long time, the Sultān started towards Gwalior on an expedition of hunting and pleasure ; and remained for some time in those parts. Even before the receipt of Malik 'Alāuddīn's memorial (notifying his victory), a rumour arose in the Sultān's army that he had conquered Deogīr ; and had obtained many elephants and horses, and an immense quantity of goods and riches ; and was marching back towards Karah. The Sultān was pleased on hearing this news ; but the wise men of the age, knowing that Malik 'Alāuddīn had undertaken such an enormous enterprise without the Sultān's permission ; and had acquired so much wealth ; and knowing also that he had such enmity with his haram (wife) and with Malkah-i-Jahān, could perceive by the eye of wisdom that he intended to rise and rebel against the Sultān, but they did not say this before the latter. One day the Sultān called a private meeting of his confidential advisers ; and consulted with them. He asked them : " 'Alāuddīn is coming from Deogīr with all these horses, and elephants and booty ; what should I do ? Should I remain where I am ; or should I hasten to welcome him ; or should I return to Dehli ? " Malik Ahmed Hab, who was celebrated for his correct thinking and sound judgment, submitted that abundance of wealth, success in one's undertakings and the accomplishment of one's desires became the cause of pride and rebellion ; and made a man, however intelligent and wise he might be, drunk and mad. " The cheats and deluders of Karah," said he

“ who carried Malik Jhaju off from the path of loyalty, are now all assembled round him; and they incited him to go to Deogir without the Sultán's orders. Who knows what he has in his heart? It would be wisest for the Sultán to go with all speed to Chanderi, so that he might arrive there before Malik 'Aláuddín. When the latter hears that the Sultán is so near; he will not be able to complete his arrangements, and will be forced to come and pay his homage to the Sultán, and place the booty before the throne, either willingly or otherwise. The Sultán should take his elephants, and goods and all his treasures, which might be the cause of his violence, from him; and should take them to Dehli. If the Sultán considers this an insignificant matter and marches to Dehli without taking the proper measures; and if Malik 'Aláuddín goes to Karah with so many elephants and horses, and such an immense quantity of treasure, which are the basis of greatness and empire, and there places all his arrangements on a right footing, the Sultán will have, in a manner, endeavoured to bring about his own destruction, and the ruin and desolation of his house.

Couplet.

He bringeth joy, and gladness, to the hearts of his foes,
Who listeneth not to the words of his true and loyal friends.”

The words of Malik Ahmad Hab did not commend themselves to Sultán Jalāluddín. He said, “ Malik 'Aláuddín is like my son; he has been brought up by me; he will certainly not turn his face from me; and will never do anything which would be contrary to my wishes.” Then he turned his face to those who were in the assembly and said, “ What do you all advise in the matter?” Malik Fakhruddín Kújí, who, although he knew that the advice given by Malik Ahmad Hab was sound, still seeing that the Sultán was opposed to it, concealed his real opinion and said, “ The news of the return of Malik 'Aláuddín, and of his having brought much booty, has not yet been confirmed either by his petition or by the testimony of trustworthy persons, in such a way that we may place any reliance or base any reasoning on it. Supposing that the news turns out to be true, and we advance with our troops against him, and go and stand before him; as he went away without orders, it is

not unlikely that a dread will overwhelm his mind, and he will turn back from the place where he may have arrived, and will rush blindly away in some direction; and we will have to follow him, and that in the rainy season, which is near at hand; and we will have to go wherever he may have gone. It is a well-known proverb 'that one should not take off his stockings before one comes to the water.' And supposing again that Malik 'Alāuddīn arrives in safety at Karah with his elephants and treasures and goods; and it becomes clear that a malicious and evil design has entered his head; may he not be easily disposed of by one assault of his Majesty's forces." Malik Ahmad Hab said, "If Malik 'Alāuddīn arrives in safety at Karah with the elephants and treasure, and crossing the Sarayu goes toward Lakhnauti, no one will then be able to do anything against him.

Couplet.

Do not thy enemy as insignificant despise!

For I have seen a small rock a mountain huge become!

The Sultān became angry on hearing this; and said, "Malik Ahmad Hab has always had an evil opinion of Malik 'Alāuddīn. I have cradled the latter in my arms; and have made him my son. It is possible that one of my sons should turn against me; but that he should turn away his face from me, that is absolutely impossible." Malik Ahmad Hab rose from his seat in the council, and made his lamentation, and recited this couplet.

Couplet.

When fate its dark face on a man doth turn,

No one can help and succour him at all.

The Sultān praised Malik Fakhruddīn's wisdom; and returned to Dehli. Immediately after that the news of the arrival of Malik 'Alāuddīn at Karah came; and his petition also arrived. In it he stated: "I have brought, as the booty obtained in the expedition, thirty-one elephants, a number of horses, and quantities of gold and gems and pearls, and all kinds of goods and fabrics; and I wish to bring everything to your presence; but as I have been absent for a long time, and as I set out on this expedition without

your orders, a fancy has found its way into my mind, and into the minds of all your servants who were with me. If a farmān is issued which will give me and my companions some assurance of our safety, we would present ourselves at your gate without any anxiety about ourselves." He deceived Sultān Jalāluddīn by such stories; and at the same time made preparations for an expedition to Lakhnauti. He sent Zafar Khān to Audh, with orders to collect boats in the Sarayū; and he settled with his officers and ministers, that as soon as they would hear that Sultān Jalāluddīn had started from Dehli, in the direction of Karah, they would cross the Sarayū, and enter the Lakhnauti country, and bring it under subjection and rule there. Sultān Jalāluddīn wrote an affectionate letter to him with his own hand, assuring him and his companions of complete safety, and sent it by the hand of two men who were in his confidence. When these men reached Karah, they found that Malik 'Alāuddīn had become altogether hostile to the Sultān; and he had also estranged all the Amīrs who were there from the latter; but Malik 'Alāuddīn kept such a strict watch on them, that they were unable to represent the true state of things to the Sultān.

When some time had elapsed after this, Malik 'Alāuddīn wrote a letter to his brother, Almās Beg, who was also the nephew and son-in-law of the Sultān, in which he stated, that as he had undertaken such an expedition without the permission of the Sultān, men of experience in worldly affairs had implanted a fear in his mind. But as he was the son as well as the slave of the Sultān, if the latter would come alone, by rapid marches, and would seize him by the hand, and take him to Dehli, he would gladly render service and homage; but if the Sultān would not do this, he would take poison, and destroy himself, or would wander away and be lost. Almās Beg submitted the letter for the perusal of the Sultān. The latter bade him go quickly and comfort Malik 'Alāuddīn; and said that he would soon follow him. Almās Beg immediately got into a boat, and set out as swiftly as wind on water. On the seventh day he arrived at the place where Malik 'Alāuddīn was. The latter rejoiced greatly and was happy at the arrival of his brother. He now determined finally upon his expedition to Lakhnauti; but those who were in his confidence, and were intimate with him, said that it would not be necessary for them to go to Lakhnauti, as

Sultān Jalāluddin, unable to resist his desire for the elephants and the riches, would come to them that very rainy season. They would then be able to make away with him there, and would then set about their work of conquest and empire. This view appeared sound and just to Malik 'Alāuddin. As death was now so near Malik Jalāluddin, he did not listen to the words of his sincere well-wishers, but set out in boats, with some of his special attendants, and a thousand horse-men. At the same time he sent Ahmad Hāb with the army, and all the regal paraphernalia, by land.

Couplet

When one to advice of friend will not attend,
The gods above will penalty award.

When the Sultān arrived at Karaḥ on the 7th Ramazān, Malik 'Alāuddin had already fully equipped his army and had crossed the Ganges; and encamped between Karaḥ and Manikpur. On hearing the news of the arrival of the Sultān, he sent his brother Almās Beg to attend on him, and instructed him that he should try, by every deception he could think of, to effect a separation between the Sultān and his army; and to bring the former alone. Almās Beg presented himself before the Sultān; and performed the ceremony of kissing the dust, and submitted. "If I had not, in accordance with the orders of the lord of the world, come at once, and had not comforted my brother, he would by this time have wandered away to some unknown place. In spite of my assurances, however, there is still some fear in his heart; and if he sees your majesty, with so many armed horsemen, there is some likelihood that he would again become a prey to fresh hallucinations, and would again attempt to run away." The Sultān, believing his statement to be true, ordered that the horsemen who were with him should halt where they were. He himself with his personal attendants, went on ahead. When he had gone a part of the way, that arch-deceiver, Almās Beg, loosened his lying tongue, and said, "My brother is now near at hand. If he sees these men, who are with your majesty, armed and ready for any emergency, it is quite likely that, owing to the fancy and fear which have overwhelmed his mind, he may become despondent about your mercy and love." Then according

to the Sultán's orders, all his attendants threw down their weapons. When they approached the Ganges, those who were near the Sultán saw from a distance that the army of 'Aláuddín was standing, ready armed and equipped, and awaiting as it were for an opportunity. They became sure about the treachery and perfidy of 'Aláuddín; and knew what Almás Beg was about. Malik Khurram the Vakildar said to Almás Beg: "We believed your words and separated ourselves from our troops and divested ourselves of our arms. Your army appears armed and ready for battle." Almás Beg said: "My brother wants to parade his army in battle-array, and ready equipped and armed, before the Sultán, and review it." The Sultán, in accordance with the saying that, when fate overtakes one, it makes him blind, did not think of their perfidy and treason, although it was manifest to young and old; and he even said to Almás Beg, "I have come, while fasting, all this way to see 'Aláuddín, and he feels no pity for me, but sits in comfort in his boat and does not hasten forward to welcome me." The arch-deceiver, Almás Beg, said in reply: "My brother does not intend to meet your Majesty with an empty hand; he wishes to render you homage with the articles of his tribute, such as elephants and various beautiful things. He has also arranged everything for your breaking your fast, and wishes that your Majesty should do so in his house, so that he may be raised above his comrades and equals by that honour. No thought of their perfidy passed through Sultán Jaláluddín's mind, and he sat carelessly in the boat, reading the Kurán, till the afternoon of the 17th Ramázán, when he reached the bank of the river. 'Aláuddín then came forward; and rendered homage; and fell at the Sultán's feet. The latter stroked his cheek, as a token of his love and affection; and otherwise showed his kindness towards him. He said, "I have reared thee up with so much care; and have made thee great; and always in my eyes thou hast been dearer to me than my sons. How could I now think of doing thee an injury?" He said this, and holding 'Aláuddín's hand pulled him towards the boat. At this time, Malik 'Aláuddín made a sign to the men, who had been selected by him, and entrusted with the assassination of the Sultán. Mahmud Sálim, who was one of the baser people of Sámánah, wounded the Sultán with his sword. The latter, on receiving the wound, ran towards his boat; and

cried out: "Oh! wretched 'Aláuddín, what hast thou done?" Ikhtíáruddín Húr who had received many favours at the hands of the Sultán came from behind; and threw the Sultán down on the ground; and having cut off his head, took it to 'Aláuddín. They then took the head of the poor murdered king, round Karah and Mánikpur, on a lance; and then took it to Audh. The special attendants of the Sultán, who were in the boat, were also murdered. It has been handed down by a trustworthy tradition, that just before the time when Sultán Jaláluddín came to Karah, Malik 'Aláuddín went to pay his respects to Sheikh Kurk Majzub (the absorbed), who is buried in the town of Karah; and performed service like a supplicant. The "absorbed" lifted up his head and said:

Couplet.

"Whoever doth with thee wage war;
His head in the boat, his body in Gang!"

In short they raised the canopy of Sultán Jaláluddín over the head of Malik 'Aláuddín and proclaimed him emperor. But the people who were associated with him in the assassination of Sultán Jaláluddín were overtaken in a short time by great calamities, and fell into the lowest depths of misery. Mahmud, the son of Sálím, became afflicted with leprosy after a year; and his limbs shrivelled up and fell into pieces. Ikhtíaruddín Húr became mad and in his agony yelled out, and screamed, "Sultán Jaláluddín has a sword in his hand; and is cutting off my head!" The ungrateful Malik 'Aláuddín, himself, although for a time he reigned with prosperity, and did whatever he wished to do, yet in the end Providence did not fail to mete out to him his just punishment; and avenged itself on him; and neither the name nor any vestige of his descendants remained in the world!

Couplets.

The mansions of creation are not at random ranged;
The earth, and all the sky, are not without a Ruler Great!
Bethink! Oh thou with wisdom blest! how time doth ever
work,
That what thou dost will ever meet with its recompense due.

When the news of the martyrdom of Sultān Jalāluddīn reached Malik Ahmad Hab, who was the commander of the army, he turned back from the place where he was and went to Dehli. Malkah-i-Jahān the *haram* (wife) of the Sultān, owing to her foolishness, placed her youngest son, Ruknuddīn Ibrāhīm, who was in his first youth, and had not yet reached man's estate, and had no experience of rule and government, in great haste on the throne, without consulting the great nobles. She left Kilukhari, and came to Dehli, and took up her quarters in the Green Kiosk, and distributed the various high offices, and the great fiefs, among the Amīrs and Maliks. Arkali Khān, who was the true son and successor of the Sultān, and possessed kinglike accomplishments, was afflicted in heart on hearing this news. He remained at Multan and did not come to Dehli. Malik 'Alāuddīn marched towards Dehli in the very heart of the rainy season, and reached the bank of the Jumna by successive marches. He so enamoured the hearts of the people with his gold and riches, that every one became favourably inclined towards him; and the hostility which had taken possession of their hearts on account of the assassination of Sultān Jalāluddīn became completely obliterated. They say—

Couplet.

Liberality is alchemy, for the copper of vice;
Liberality panacea is, for evils all.

Every day Malik 'Alauddin filled a ballista with gold, and scattered it among his soldiery. Every one who entered his service received twenty or thirty for every ten (coins) of the current wages of the time. In this way he captured the hearts of the people.

Couplet.

If thou dost want to greatness to attain, make generous thy heart.¹

It is related that when he arrived at Badā-ūn, he mustered his troops; and they came to sixty thousand horsemen and footsoldiers.

¹ The second line is given in the lith. ed. as سر کیسہ بد بند کند نابند and in the three MSS. as سر کیسہ بد بوگ کند نابند. In either case I can not make any sense.

The Jalāhī Amirs and Maliks came from all sides, and joined 'Alāuddīn, being allured by his gold and the high salaries which he offered. Malkah-i-Jahān, after her hopes had been ruined, summoned Arkaḥī Khān; but he sent word that things had now gone too far for any remedy.

Couplet.

A spring, at its start, with a bodkin can be easily stopped !

When once it is full, on an elephant you can scarcely cross !

Malik 'Alāuddīn became strengthened in his resolution on hearing this news, and crossed the Jumna at the ferry of Kath and encamped on the plain of Jūd. Rukāuddīn Ibrāhīm also arrayed his troops in front of him; and then made a feint of retiring. At night most of the Jalāhī Amirs deserted him, and joined Malik 'Alāuddīn. When the former found that matters had passed beyond remedy, he took his mother, and Malik Rajab and Kutbuddīn 'Ulūi, and Ahmad Hāb and a few others who yet remained true to their salt, and took the road to Multan.

The period of Sultān Jalāluddīn's rule was seven years and some months.

√ SULTAN 'ALĀUDDIN KHALĪJ.

He ascended the throne at Dehli in the year 695 A.H. He conferred the title of Ulugh Khān on his brother Almās Beg, that of Nasrat Khān on Malik Nasrat Jalesari, that of Zafar Khān on Malik Hazarabuddīn, and that of Ali Elān on Sanjar, his brother-in-law, who was the President of his Council. He raised such of his friends as were not Amirs already, to that rank; and he conferred higher ranks and larger fiefs on those who were. He gave large sums of money to his officers and commanders, so that they might enlist new soldiers. His army thus became a very large one. When he encamped with his army on the plain of Sirī, the high and the low of the capital came to render him homage, and to offer their congratulations. Prayers were read and coins struck in his name, and the other royal ceremonials were duly performed. Malik 'Alāuddīn entered the city with regal pomp and splendour; and sat on the imperial throne; and assumed the title of Sultān 'Alāuddīn. From that place he went to the ruby Kiosk and made that the seat

of his empire. The citizens had feasts, and erected ornamental domes; and the lanes flowed with wine; and people took to sports and pleasure. Owing to the pride of wealth and the intoxication of youth, Sultān 'Alauddīn was lavish in dissipations and pleasures; and he made the people loyal, and attached them to his throne, by his great largesses and gifts. He honoured every one with a post and a title; and distributed the parganas and provinces (among the nobles). Khwājah Khatīr, who was famous for his personal virtues and accomplishments, was honoured with the appointment of *Vazir*. Kāzi Sadruddīn 'Arif, who had the title of *Sadr-i-Jahān*, became the chief Kāzi of the empire, and the titles of *Sayyad Ajall* (the most glorious Sayyad) and the *Sheikh-ul-islām* (the chief priest) were conferred on him. The post of *Khatīb* (preacher) was confirmed to the former *Sayyad Ajall* who had been both *Khatīb* and *Sheikh-ul-islām*. The office of *inshā* (correspondence) was entrusted to 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Hamīduddīn; and Malik 'Izzuddīn, who was adorned with physical and spiritual excellence, was specially honoured by being placed near the Sultān's person. Nasrat Khān, who had been the deputy of the empire, was made the *kotwāl* (superintendent), and Malik Fakhruddīn Kūji was appointed the *dārogha* (inspector) of the capital. Zafar Khan was appointed to be the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces; Malik Abāji Jalāli received the post of the *Tājirbegi* (Minister of Commerce) and Malik Huran bar that of *Naib Barbegi* (Deputy Master of Ceremonies). Malik Alā-ul-mulk, the uncle of Zia Burni, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Firozshāhi*, was entrusted with the siefs of Karah and Audh. The post of the Deputy *Vakil-dar* (deputy representative in the Council) was conferred on Malik Junāi Qadīm, and that of the naib (deputy) and Khwājah (superintendent) of the city of Baran on Mued-ul-Mulk, the father of the aforementioned Zia. All properties and trusts were confirmed to deserving people, and other stipends were granted to them, in the way of maintenance allowances. The whole of the troops were made happy that year, with a grant of six months' pay in addition to their usual allowances. Ease and happiness made their appearance among all classes of people, and the great crime of the assassination of Sultān Jalāl-uddīn was concealed from the eyes, and obliterated from the minds, of the people.

After Sultān 'Alāuddīn had become firmly established on the throne of Dehli, he in consideration of the maxim—

Couplet.

While the head of the claimant on his shoulder stands,
The kingdom wears rebellion as a garb

considered that the destruction of the sons of Sultān Jalāluddīn, who were at Multān, was the one affair which most urgently demanded his attention. He accordingly nominated Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān with forty thousand horsemen for this duty. They marched accordingly and besieged the town. After two months the Kotwāl of Multān, and the other nobles who were there, deserted Arkali Khān and his brothers, and coming outside the town, had interviews with Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān. The Sultān's sons, in great distress, then came to Ulugh Khān, after obtaining assurances of safety through Shaikh Ruknuddīn (may God make his grave holy!). Ulugh Khān received them with all honour; and allotted places for them near his own pavilion; and sent a letter, announcing his victory, to Dehli. They read the letter from the pulpits, and erected domes, and struck the drum of joy. Then Ulugh Khān returned towards Dehli, with the sons of Sultān Jalāluddīn, and the Amīrs and Maliks who had been on their side. On the way, Nasrat Khān, who was deputed for the purpose, from Dehli, met Ulugh Khān; and drew the pencil (for blinding them) over the eyes of Sultān Jalāluddīn's sons, of Alghu, his son-in-law, and of Malik Ahmad Hab, the *naib Amīr Hājib* (Deputy Lord Chamberlain); and took possession of their wealth, and their retinues. The two hapless princes were kept imprisoned at Hānsī; and the two sons of Arkali Khān were martyred; and Ahmad Hab, and the wives of Sultān Jalāluddīn, and those of his sons, were brought to Dehli, and imprisoned there.

In the second year after the accession, Nasrat Khān was appointed Vazīr; and Malik 'Alā-ul-Mulk was summoned from Karaḥ, to come with the nobles and the treasure, which were there; and the post of the Kotwal of Dehli, which had been held by the Malik-ul-Umra, was entrusted to him. Nasrat Khān then commenced to resume the estates, which the Sultān had at the time

of his accession, for the sake of expediency, distributed among the Jalālī Amīrs; and, by this means, brought an enormous sum into the Treasury.

The same year the Mughal armies crossed the river Sind, and entered Hindustān. Sultān 'Alāuddīn sent Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān, with other nobles, to attack them. The two armies met in the neighbourhood of Jāmmahmūr.¹ In the battle which ensued, the Mughals were defeated and large numbers of them were slain, and a number taken captive. When the news of the victory reached Dehli, the citizens struck the drum of joy, and erected domes, and had festive gatherings. After this, all the Jalālī Amīrs, who had treacherously deserted their former master, and had joined Sultān 'Alāuddīn, and had received from the latter high posts and great fiefs, were seized: some of them were blinded; and a few were imprisoned in distant parts, and their goods and estates were brought into the treasury, and their houses and families were ruined. Of all the Jalālī nobles, Malik Kutubuddīn 'Alai, Malik Nasīruddīn, Shahnāh-i-Pīl (the keeper of the elephants), and Malik Amīr Jamāl, the father of Kadr Khān, who had never turned their faces from the sons of the Sultān, and had never taken anything from Sultān 'Alāuddīn, remained in safety, and did not receive any injury. By means of the above-mentioned forfeitures, Nasrat Khān realized a *karor* in the course of the year; and paid the amount into the Treasury.

¹ جَارِ مِشْوَر in the lith. ed. and جَارِ نَمِشْوَر and جَارِ نَمِشْوَر in the MSS. In the printed edition of the Tūrikh Firozshahi of Zia Barni (as translated in Elliot's history) the name is Jālandhar, but in the MSS. Jadwa o Manjur and Jurat Mahud (see Elliot, vol. iii, p. 162). In a note, by Mr. T. W. Tolbort, I.C.S., to a translation of portions of the Tūrikh-i-Firozshahi by Major Fuller (see Journ. A.S.B., pp. 43, etc.) containing a synopsis of the Mughal invasions, which took place in the reign of 'Alāuddīn, according to (1) Ziā-i-Barni, (2) Nizūmuddīn Ahmad Harawi, (3) Badāonī, and (4) Ferishtah, the scene of this battle is given as Jarī Manjūr according to (1), Jāran Majhur in Sind according to (2), Jūran Manjūr according to (3), and Lahore according to (4). There is nothing about Jaran Majhur being in Sind in the Tabakāt-i-Akbari; but in one of the MSS. the Mughals are said to have invaded Sind on this occasion; while in the lith. ed. and in the other MSS. the word is Hind and not Sind. Ferishtah calls the Mughal commander Amīr Daud, though none of the previous historians had so named him.

In the third year after the accession, the Sultān sent Ulugh Khān and Nasrat Khān, with large armies, to invade Gujrāt. They ravaged and plundered Nahrwālah, and all the cities of the province. Rāy Karan, the governor of Nahrwālah, fled, and joined the ruler of Deogir in the Dakin; and his wives and daughter (who was named Devalrānī) with his treasures, and elephants, and all he had, fell into the hands of the army. Ulugh Khān and Nāsrat Khān also brought the idol, which the Brāhmans of Sonmāth had set up, and were worshipping, in place of the one which Sultān Mahmūd had broken to pieces, to Dehli, and placed it where the people would trample upon it. Nasrat Khān also went to Kambāyat and took from the merchants, who resided there, and had much wealth, such quantities of riches, and gems, and other beautiful things, as were beyond all calculation. He also obtained, by violence from his master, Kāfū Hazārdinārī (whom Sultān 'Alāuddīn, on account of the attachment which he formed for him, afterwards made the Nāib-i-Mulk, i.e., deputy governor of the kingdom), and sent him to the Sultān. When Ulugh Khān and Nasrat Khān, after plundering and ravaging Gujrāt, were returning with an enormous quantity of booty, they demanded and exacted with great rigour and violence from the soldiery, the fifth part of the booty taken by them, and carried their exactions beyond all bounds. Some of the Amīrs, who were called the Neo-moslems, joined with others, who had also suffered much on account of the exactions; and attacked Malik 'Izzuddīn (the brother of Nasrat Khān), who was the Amīr-i-Hājib of Ulugh Khān; and after murdering him, entered the pavilion of Ulugh Khān. The latter got out by another door, and took shelter in the pavilion of Nasrat Khān. The nephew (sister's son) of Sultān 'Alāuddīn was sleeping in the pavilion. The hostile Amīrs, thinking that he was Ulugh Khān, killed him. Nasrat Khān then called to gather his men quickly, and attacked them; and they dispersed in different directions. Ulugh Khān and Nasrat Khān abandoned further enquiry about the booty, and went with the riches, the elephants, and the various kinds of goods, which they had obtained, to Dehli. Sultān 'Alāuddīn had the wives and the children of the nobles, who had taken part in the disturbance, seized, and inflicted various punishments on them. Nasrat Khān, in revenge for the murder of his brother, made over the women of the families of the

persons who had caused the murder, to some sweepers, and he ordered that the infants should be brutally murdered, by being hurled against the women. Before this it had not been the custom in Dehli to punish women and children for the offences of their relatives.

This year, a Mughal of the name of Saldi¹ and his brother came, and took possession of Siwistān. Zafar Khān was sent with a large army against them; and this victorious general besieged Siwistān; and in a short time conquered it, and sent Saldi, and his brother, and their families and children, and the other Mughals, who were with them, with collars round their necks, to Dehli. At the end of the same year, Kutlagh Khwājah, and his son, with a few thousand Mughals came from Mawara-un-Nahr to conquer Hindustan. They crossed the Indus; and as they came to conquer the country, they did not commit any injury or depredation on the villages and towns which fell on their route, as they considered them to be part and parcel of their kingdom. They encamped in front of Dehli, and commenced a siege. As an immense number of people, from the different towns and places, in the neighbourhood came into the city, for fear of the Mughals, the place was so crowded that there was no space for standing or sitting in the mosques, and lanes, and markets, and in various quarters of the city. The people were in great distress owing to the overcrowding, and the roads for importing grain and provisions were closed; and everything became dear. Sultān 'Alāuddīn summoned the Amīrs and Maliks from the different parts of the empire, and having reinforced and equipped the army, came out of the city with regal pomp and splendour; and encamped in Sirī, and left Malik Ala-ul-Mulk, the Kotwal of Dehli, behind, for the protection of the city and the treasures and for watching the *haram* (the apartments for the ladies of the palace). It is said that some of the Amīrs represented (to the Sultān) that war was always attended with danger, and that a stick had two ends (i.e. it might hit either party); attempts should therefore be made, as long as

¹ Ziā-i-Barni describes (see Elliot, vol. iii, p. 165) how Saldi took the fort of Siwistan, and how Zafar Khān again took it from him. Badāūnī does not mention this invasion of the Mughals. Ferishta calls the Mughal commander Chaldi Khān.

possible, to remedy matters by stratagems, and a battle should be avoided.

Couplet.

Though thou may'st have an elephant's strength and a lion's
claws,

Peace, Oh my friend ! is always better far than war !

Sultān 'Alāuddīn said, " Empire, and abstention from war, cannot go together."

Couplet.

He who the Emperor's crown doth wear,
His head, like a gage, doth ever throw !

" It is not becoming, also," he said, " that a king should take shelter in a fort." He made preparations for a battle and raised the standard of conflict. Kutlagh Khwājah, on his side, also laid the foundations for a struggle, and displayed great manliness and bravery. Zafar Khān, who commanded the right wing, attacked the Mughal army, threw it into confusion, and routed it ; and the Mughals fled. Zafar Khān pursued them a distance of eighteen *karohs*. Ulugh Khān, who commanded the left wing, did not, on account of a grudge¹ which he bore him, join in the pursuit ; but let him go on alone. Suddenly some of the Mughal nobles, who were lying in ambush on the way, saw that Zafar Khān had gone on alone and there were no troops, behind him, to support him. They came upon him from behind, and surrounding him from all sides, hamstrung his horse. He then fought bravely on foot. Although Kutlagh Khwājah attempted to take him captive, he could not do it. At last he ordered that his men should shower arrows on him ; and thus they martyred him. They also slew the other Amīrs who were in his detachment. Kutlagh Khwājah did not that day draw rein till he had covered thirty *karohs*, for fear of the prowess of the

¹ Zīā-i-Barni (see Elliot, vol. iii, p. 165) says, that it was Zafar Khān's bravery, in conquering Siwistān from the Mughals, which made both the Sultān and Ulugh Khān jealous and afraid of him. 'Alāuddīn was thinking how he could get rid of him ; one of his plans was to send him to Lakhnauti, where he might be left, to send elephants and tribute to the Sultān ; while another was to put him out of the way by poison or by blinding.

Hindustanis; and went back to his own country with all speed. The name of Zafar Khān became proverbial among the Mughals for bravery and for putting an army into confusion; so that if a horse showed any disinclination to drink the water given to it, they would say "perhaps it has seen Zafar Khān." Sultān 'Alāuddīn, who both envied and feared the courage and bravery of Zafar Khān, deemed his martyrdom a second victory; and came back to Dehli from Kilī and made rejoicings, and had festive gatherings; and gave himself up to pleasures and enjoyments.

As during these three years most of his undertakings had ended in accordance with his wishes, and owing to his having many wives he had many children, and there was no rival claimant left to the throne, he felt a desire for performing wonderful feats and exploits. Among these one was this, that as the holy Prophet, may the blessing and peace of God be on him! had by his own strength and greatness produced the Law, and had perfected and confirmed it by the help of his companions, so he with the strength and energy of his four friends, viz. Ulugh Khān, Násrat Khān, Zafar Khān¹ and Alp Khān, should establish a new Religion and Law, so that his name might remain on the page of time till the day of judgment. In his drinking parties, and private conferences, he talked on this subject with the Amirs and Maliks, and asked them in what way, and by what means, he should discover the new religion, which should, even after his death, be current, and be held in honour among the nations of the world. A second insane project, which the spectacle of his wealth, and treasures, and armies, and such things produced in his mind, was this, that he should entrust (the government of) Dehli to one of his trusted adherents; and should himself engage, like a second Alexander of Rūm, in the conquest of the countries comprised in the inhabited quarter of the world; and he ordered that he should be called the second Alexander, in the public prayers, and the same title should, also, be imprinted on the coins. His courtiers and the companions in his festive gatherings, knowing by experience how rough and stern he was in his temperament, professed

¹ Zafar Khān was still alive, as is expressly mentioned by Ziā-i-Barni. (See Elliot, vol. iii, p. 171).

to acknowledge the truth of his absurd statements, and lauded him for his lofty spirit, and his high-soaring ambition. Malik 'Alā-ul-Mulk, the Kotwal of Dehli, on account of the fact that he was very fat, went to salute him only on the 1st of each month, and used to join in his drinking parties.

On one of these occasions, when, following his usual custom, he went to the Sultān, and joined the party, Sultān 'Alāuddīn asked his advice about these two projects. 'Ala-ul-Mulk having introduced his observations by well-weighed words, and delightful anecdotes, impressed it on the Sultān's mind, by arguments based on reason and history, that it would be best to abandon the idea of founding a Law; as the result of such an attempt would be the ruin of his rule and empire.

Couplet.

As far as I can judge, he thy well-wisher is!

Who says to thee 'Yonder a thorn is in thy path.'

Sultān 'Alāuddīn after much thought, and deliberate cogitation, said: "What thou hast said is all just; and in accordance with the real truth of the matter! It would be better that, after this, such words should not fall from my lips. But as regards my second project, what dost thou say? Is that also a mistake, or is it right?" Malik 'Alā-ul-Mulk said: "This project of the Sultān testifies to his noble spirit. Former monarchs have also undertaken such conquests. The lord of the world can certainly bring the countries, comprised in the inhabited quarter of the world, under subjection to him, by his own bravery and prowess, and by the power of his armies and his treasures; but when he will leave Dehli, and go into strange countries, and remain there for a long time, who is there who can act as regent in his absence? Again, after that, when he returns to Dehli, or goes to some other country, no one can say that he will find those, whom he should have left behind, in the newly-conquered realms, still faithful to him, and those countries still under his sway. For these times are not to be compared to those of Alexander; as in those earlier times, fraud and perfidy and breach of engagements were less common. The men of that period, since when ages have elapsed, when they entered

into an engagement, did not break it, either on account of the distance of place, or of the efflux of time. Besides Alexander¹ had a Vazīr like Aristotle, who had made the common people, as well as the great men of Rūm, in spite of its great extent, all contented with and full of trust in him, without the aid of any army or treasures. Owing to his sound judgment, and great wisdom, the conquest of other countries was easy to his master; and during the period of the latter's absence, which extended to two and thirty years, there was no kind of calamity in the country of Rūm, owing to the wise policy of that philosopher. When Alexander, after completing the conquest of the world, returned to the country of Rūm, he found the inhabitants all loyal and devoted to him. If the Sultān can repose the same trust in his Amīrs and rayyats as Alexander did, this undertaking, the idea of which has entered his mind, is quite right and advisable; and not to attempt it would be contrary to sound policy." Sultān 'Alāuddīn, after careful consideration, said to 'Alā-ul-Mulk: "If I attend to these considerations which thou hast urged, and make no attempt to conquer the world, but content myself with the kingdom of Dehli, then of what use are my army and my treasures; and what advantage do I derive from them; and how should I obtain the name of a conqueror of the world, except which I have no other object?" Malik 'Alā-ul-Mulk kissed the ground of service, and said in reply: "The Sultān has two such tasks, at present, before him, that if he should employ the whole of his army and treasures in carrying them out, they would barely suffice. The first of these is the conquest of certain cities in India, such as Rantambor and Chitor, and Chanderi and Malwa, and to the east as far as the river of Andh or the Sarayn, and the Sivalik as far as the Arabian Sea. If these countries which are the refuge of refractory people and the asylum of robbers come under your rule, the whole of the plains of Hindustan will become free from all disturbances, and danger. The second task is the closing of the door against the Mughals. The forts which are situated along the path of the Mughals, such as Dibālpur, Multān and Sāmānah, should be strengthened and completely

¹ This is a rather curious and original version of the history of Alexander the Great.

equipped. After these two tasks would have been accomplished, it would be possible for the Sultān to rest in his capital of Dehli with a calm mind, and to send his loyal servants, with well-equipped armies, in various directions, so that they may bring distant countries under his sway, and in this way the name of your majesty as a conqueror, and your fame as a mighty ruler, may be blown about the universe; but this is possible only if the Sultān refrains from excessive drinking and continual hunting and constant immersion in pleasures." When Sultān 'Alāuddīn heard the remarks quoted above, he praised and belauded the sagacity of the advice, and the beauty of the policy, and bestowed on Malik 'Alā-ul-Mulk a gold-embroidered robe¹ which had the figures of lions worked in it, and a valuable belt, and ten thousand tangahs and two steeds with jewelled saddles and bridles, and two villages, as a reward; and the other nobles, who were in the Council, were delighted with the observations, and every one of them sent him a few thousand tanghas and two horses, and they all praised his wisdom.

As Rantambor was close to Dehli, and Hamir Deo, the grandson² of Pithora, ruled there with great power, Sultān 'Alāuddīn determined to conquer it first. He summoned Ulugh Khān from Sāmānah; and nominated him for the command of the army; and ordered Nasrat Khān, feudatory of Karah, to accompany him. They went and seized Jhāin, and besieged the citadel of Rantambor and made every effort to capture it. Suddenly a stone, hurled from inside the fort, struck Nasrat Khān, and slew him. When Sultān 'Alāuddīn heard this he started for Rantambor. On arrival at Tahlit³ he halted there for a few days, and every day he went to the neighbouring plains to hunt.⁴ One day he went, according to

¹ According to Zia-i-Barni (Elliot, vol. iii, p. 171) the gold waistband weighed half a man.

² Hamir Deo could not have been the grandson of Pithora, who was killed in 1192 A.D., one hundred and seven years before the present invasion of Rantambor. Nabsah, the word used to express the relationship, probably means only a descendant.

³ The name of the place is given as Tahlati in the lith. ed.: but in the MSS. it appears to be Tahlit. It is called Tilpat in Elliot's History (iii, p. 172).

⁴ The words used appear to be Shikar Kamargāh. I can't find what Kamargāh means, but Kamargāh means hunting in a closed ring which is formed for kings and other great men to enjoy the chase therein. In Elliot's

his custom, to hunt, but it became late, and he could not reach his camp, and remained outside. The next day he ordered the men to make the ring; and he with a few others went to a secluded place and sat down on a hillock; so that when every thing should be ready, he might begin the hunt. By chance Akat Khān, who was his nephew, and held the post of Vakildar, came to the place with a few neo-Moslem horsemen, who were his old retainers, and attacked him. As they shot arrows at him, he fell down from the mound to the lower ground, and sheltered himself behind the mound. He however received two wounds, from the arrows, on his arm. Ākat Khān wanted to dismount, and cut off the Sultān's head; but the band of Pāiks who were round the Sultān, ran forward and putting on the garb of acquiescence and homage, assured him that the Sultān was already dead. Ākat Khān accepted their word, and went in all haste to the camp. He rode to the royal pavilion and sat on the throne. He shouted that he had slain the Sultān. The people believed that he was telling the truth. Every one went to his own post and station, and stood near him. Every one congratulated him, and rendered him homage. The heralds made proclamations, the readers recited the Kurān, and the musicians sang. Ākat Khān, who was young and mean-spirited, wanted immediately to go into the haram (the apartments of the ladies). Malik Dinār, the keeper of the haram, who was seated at the door of the haram, with his men ready and armed, did not let him do so. He said, "I will not let thee enter the haram till thou showest me the Sultān's head." When Sultān 'Alāuddīn recovered his senses, he bound up his wounds, and knew that Ākat Khān had acted in concert with some of the Amirs. He wanted to go to Ulugh Khān at Jhāin with the fifty or sixty men with him, and do whatever might be right or proper in concert with him. Malik Hamīduddīn, who was the son of the Umdat-ul-mulk and was himself the naib vakildar and one of the wisest men of the age, asked the Sultān to desist from going to Jhāin, and advised him to go at once to his pavilion. He said, "Ākat Khān has not yet established himself on a firm footing. As soon as

translation of Zia-i-Barnī (iii, p. 172) it is called a Margāh. Shikār Kamarghah is however mentioned in the Akbarnamah.

the soldiery will see the royal canopy, they would flock to it; and Ākat Khān's assembly would break up in confusion; but if there is any delay, it would be difficult to remedy this mischief." The Sultān mounted immediately, and hastened towards his pavilion: every trooper, who saw him on the way, joined him; and by the time he reached the pavilion, about five hundred men had gathered round him. When he got near the camp, he mounted a hillock; and showed himself. Ākat Khān's assembly broke up in confusion, and every one ran towards the Sultān. Ākat Khān mounted and rode away towards Afghānpur. The Sultān got down from the mound; entered his pavilion; and sitting on the throne, held a public reception. He then deputed Malik 'Izzuddīn Tughān Khān, and Malik Nasīruddīn Nūr Khān, to pursue Ākat Khān. They came up with him in Afghānpur, cut off his head, and presented it to the Sultān; and it was carried round the camp.

Couplet.

No one, with bragging, should on the seats of the mighty sit;
Till he, with glory's mantle, should himself have adorned.

The Sultān ordered his brother, who was called Kutlagh Khān, and some of his special friends, to be executed; and he ordered others to be imprisoned and sent to distant forts. He then left that place, and coming to Rantambor besieged it, and employed all the various measures to capture it.

At this time news came that Umar Khān and Mangu Khān, who were both of them nephews of the Sultān, had revolted at Badāūn. The Sultān sent some of the nobles against them. The latter accordingly went, and seizing them, brought them before him. He ordered that the pencil (for blinding) should be drawn across their eyes; and ordered the destruction of their families.

Couplet.

If 'gainst thy benefactor thou wouldst rise,
If high as the sky thou art, thou'lt headlong fall.

After this, while the siege of Rantambor was still going on, a man of the name of Hājī Moulā, who belonged to the tribe of the Malik-

Hamīduddīn Amīr Kū¹ with his sons who were celebrated for their bravery, opened the Badā-nū gate and entered the city, and made a body of horsemen who were retainers of Zafar Khān, and who had come from Amroha, to be present at a muster, accompany them. There was a fight between them and Hājī Moulā near the Bahandar-kāl² gate. Amīr Kū dismounted from his horse, and wrestling with Hājī Moulā threw him, and pinned him down; and in spite of the wounds which he had received, did not let him go till he had killed him. Then they went to the ruby Kiosk, and slew the 'Alawi whom Hājī Moulā had placed on the throne; and fixing his head on a lance paraded it round the city; and sent it with a letter announcing the victory to the Sultān. The latter then sent Ulugh Khān to Dehli, and he punished all those who had created the disturbance. He ordered the sons of the Malik-ul-Umrā, the former Kotwal, to be executed, merely because Hājī Moulā had belonged to their tribe, although they had not had any share in the insurrection, and completely destroyed their families.

After this, Sultān 'Alāuddīn conquered Rantambor, with great difficulty and trouble. He ordered Hamīr Deo and all his clan and family to be slain. It is related that Mīr Muhammad Shah and a band of insurgents had fled from Jālor³ and taken shelter in Rantambor. Most of these were slain, at the time the fort was taken. Mīr Muhammad Shah was lying wounded. When the Sultān's eye fell on him, he was moved with pity, and said: "What would'st thou do, if I order thy wounds to be attended to, and save thee from this imminent danger: and after this how would'st thou

¹ It is not quite clear what or where Kū was. The readings are different: the lith. ed. has حمید الدین نامیر کونا پسران or Hamīduddīn with Amīr Kōnā's sons; MSS. A and B have حمید الدین نامیر کونا پسران خود or Hamīduddīn, Amīr Kū, with his sons. This reading I have adopted. MS. C has حمید الدین خود نمیر کو بابا پسران خود which is slightly different.

The corresponding passage of the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shūhī* is translated in Elliot (vol. iii, p. 177) as "Malik Hamīdu-ddīn Amīr of Koh, with his sons and relations, all valiant men, opened the Ghaznī gate, and went into the city."

² The name of this gate is given in the lith. ed. and in the three MSS. as کال ہند در کال and کال ہند در کال respectively. It is given in Elliot (vol. iii, p. 177) as "the gate of Bhandar Kāl."

³ It appears from Elliot (vol. iii, p. 179) that these were now Musalmāns, who had fled from the rebellion in Gujrāt.

behave?" He said in reply: "If I recover from my wounds, I would have thee slain, and raise the son of Hamīr Deo on the throne."

Couplet.

He who, by nature, evil is, keeps faith with none ;
He who's of bad descent, never fails in doing wrong.

The Sultān then ordered that he should be placed under the foot of a rampant elephant, and he was crushed to death. After a time, when he recollected how true and loyal he had been to his benefactor, he ordered him to be decently buried. In short, Sultān 'Alāuddīn conferred the fort of Rantambor and the surrounding country on Ulugh Khān, as a fief; and returned to Dehlī. After that, Ulugh Khān fell ill; and died on the way.

Owing to the frequency with which calamities and disturbances had taken place during that time, Sultān 'Alāuddīn asked the wise noblemen, who were noted for their intelligence and experience, what the reason for these repeated calamities might be. They replied, that there could only be four causes. First, the ignorance of the king as to the good and the evil in the condition of the people; second, the indulgence of the people in spirituous drinks; when they drink, the evil humours come into motion, and many disturbances are created; third, the friendship, and relationship and union among the Amīrs; fourth, wealth, which when it comes into the hands of base and mean-spirited people, wicked projects and insane thoughts find their way into their imaginations. The Sultān accepted the opinions of the Amīrs as correct; and ordered that every village, which might be held by anybody as a pious endowment, or as a service grant, or as an estate, should become Crown property, and whoever had any riches, it was to be seized, by any pretext which might be thought of; and brought into the Treasury. The people suffered great distress; and were always anxious for their daily bread; and the names of rebellion and disturbance were never on their tongues. Spies were at work in every quarter of the city, and in every lane, and house; and this was carried to such an extreme point that even the Amīrs, and men of wealth, could not mix or meet with one another, or go into the houses of one another. The furniture, used at the special festive

gatherings of the Sultān, which had been manufactured at great cost, were broken in front of the Badā-ūn gate; and the wines were spilt on the ground; so that the people might become aware of the prohibition of (the use of) wines. Proclamations were made in the capital, and orders and decrees about the prohibition of wines were sent into all parts of the kingdom. The foolish and ignorant people, who were accustomed to drink, and who could not forego the idea of it, brought liquor by various tricks and subterfuges; and some even distilled it in their houses, by stealth. When the Sultān became aware of these practices, he ordered a well to be dug, near the Badā-ūn gate, at a place frequented by the people, so that it might be used as a prison for these people. Most of the men who were incarcerated in this well, died, and the few who escaped with their lives, had to be medically attended to and treated for a long time before they could recover their health. After people had given up the habit of drinking, and the rules on the subject had been firmly established, the Sultān issued an order, that if any of the notables drank alone in his own house, and did not have a drinking party, he should not be taken to task for it. He also ordered that the Amīrs, and all the great men, should not invite one another to their houses, and should not have feasts; and should not without the permission of the Sultān enter into matrimonial and other relations. There was so much rigour in this respect also, that men ceased to meet one another, and the Amīrs began to behave to one another like strangers.

After these rules had been firmly established, the Sultān wanted to promulgate certain other rules in the country, which might result in the amelioration of the condition of the people, both strong and weak; so that the tyranny which the headmen and the chowdhris (the headmen of the various castes and trades) exercised over weak people should cease to exist. He ordered that one half of the produce, by actual measurement, should be taken by the state without any deduction; and the headmen and chowdhris and all other rayyats were placed on the same footing; so that the burden of the strong was not thrown on the weak. He also ordered that what used to be the perquisites of the chowdhris should be collected and paid into the treasury, and that grazing fees for each head of cow and buffalo and sheep should also be realized. The

scrutiny into the conduct of the ministerial officers and scribes was carried to such an extreme, that they were not able to misappropriate even one *jital*. If any of them took anything in addition to his fixed salary, this at once appeared against him in the papers of the patwari (the village accountant); and was immediately exacted from him with the greatest rigour and continuance. Men gave up all ministerial offices, and all appointments as scribes, as something blameworthy. The condition of headmen and chowdhris, who had always gone about on horseback, and had carried arms, and worn beautiful clothes, became so wretched, that their wives had to do menial work in the houses of others, and had to buy their food with what they got as wages.

Sultān 'Alāuddīn repeatedly said, that the orders and rules of government depended solely on the judgment of the Sovereign, and that the law (of the Prophet) had no concern with them. The trial of disputes, the decision of suits, and the methods of worship were in the province of Kāzis and learned men. Accordingly he carried into effect whatever he judged, in his mind, to be for the better government of the country; and paid no heed to the question as to whether what he did was or was not authorized by the law. Among the learned men, Kāzī Zia-ud-dīn of Biānah, Maulanah Zahīr Lang and Monlānah Mushaiad Kuhrāmī attended at the outer table with the Amirs; but Kāzī Maghīssuddīn of Biānah was allowed to join the Sultān's own table. One day the Sultān told him: "I want to put a few questions to you." Kāzī Maghīssuddīn said in reply: "In all probability my death is near; as I shall only say what there is in the books of the law; and perhaps it will not coincide with the Sultān's opinions." The Sultān said: "Say whatever may be the truth. You will not be taken to task for it." He first asked him whether a Hindu should, in accordance with the law, be described as pure; or as a heathen, who is allowed to practise his religion, on condition of his paying the poll tax; or as an ordinary tax-payer? The Kāzī said in reply, that "if the Sultān's tax-collector demands money or tax from him; and he, with the greatest respect, pays it, without objection; and even if the tax-collector behaves to him in a way which may be insulting, he suffers it quietly, without demur or hatred; for it has been said in respect of Kūfirs, as long as they pay the Jaziah let them be humbled; and about them, men learned

in the law have directed 'either slay them, or make them accept Islam'; and a traditionary saying of the Prophet (on whom be blessing and peace!) is also conclusive on this point; but the great Imâm Hanafi (on whom be the mercy of God!) has laid it down, that the taking of the *Jaziah* is a substitute for their death; and has prohibited the shedding of their blood, therefore the *Jaziah* and rent should be collected from them, with such rigour as may be equivalent to the slaying of them." The Sultân laughed and said: "What you have propounded in accordance with the books, I have discovered all that by my own endeavours; and I have treated the Hindus accordingly." Again he asked: "When a tax-gatherer takes a bribe, and fraudulently reduces the revenue, is it to be considered a kind of theft; and is he to be punished like a thief?" The Kâzî said in reply: "If the tax-gatherer has received enough to maintain himself from the Treasury, then whatever he might have appropriated in addition to that, in the way of a bribe, etc., that should be exacted from him, with all the rigour and contumely that may be possible; but the cutting off of the hand, which has been specially prescribed for thefts of property, cannot be applied to him." The Sultân said: "I know this much, that from the day that I have taken special care about this matter, I have recovered, with every possible rigour and violence, everything that anybody might have embezzled, and appropriated to himself; and have caused it to be paid into the Treasury. The paths of theft and embezzlement have been closed; and the misappropriating arm of the avaricious has been shortened. The Sultân again asked: "Does all that wealth, which I brought from Deogîr, belong to me or to the public treasury?" The Kâzî said: "As the Sultân acquired all that wealth through the power and the exertions of the army, therefore the whole of the troops should participate in it; and it belongs to the public treasury, and not to the Sultân personally." The Sultân flew into a wrath, and said: "How can the riches which I acquired with the greatest trouble, in the days when I was a Malik, and which I did not at the time pay into the public treasury, be considered to belong to it?" The Kâzî said in reply: "Those riches which the Sultân acquired by his personal exertions, and in obtaining and acquiring which he did not take the help of the army, should certainly belong to him personally; but these

riches, which the Sultān brought from Deogīr, do not belong to this class." After this the Kāzī stood up and asked to be excused; and said: "If I submit anything in the presence of the Sultān which may be contrary to the treatises on the law, and the Sultān should be apprized by some one else of my falsehood, that should be a just cause for the increase of the Sultān's wrath. What would then be my position in the Sultan's estimation? and should I not have made myself liable for treason?" The Sultān again asked: "What right have I or my immediate dependants on the public treasury?" The Kāzī was much affected, and said: "If I speak according to the law, the Sultān will not hesitate about ordering me to be slain; and if I speak ambiguously or falsely, I shall suffer eternal punishment." The Sultān said: "Say what is right and just; and you will not be censured for it." The Kāzī said: "If the Sultān acts righteously, and follows the examples of the great Caliphs (may God place them in paradise!) he should appropriate to himself only as much as he allots to one of his servants; and if he follows an intermediate course, he should take from the public treasury as much as he gives to one of his chief Amīrs, than which he does not give more to any one else; but if he acts according to the permission of men learned in religious matters,¹ who on such occasions, seeking shelter in unauthorized traditions, acquiesce in the wishes of victorious monarchs, then he may take as much as may be somewhat distinguished from what the Amīrs get. Under no circumstances is it permissible for him to appropriate more than this from the public treasury." The Sultān again became very angry; and said: "Do you mean to say that all this money that is disbursed in my haram (palace), as rewards to servants, in the different domestic offices, and in various other ways, is spent in contravention of the law? The Kāzī said: "As the Sultān asked me questions about the law, it was right that I should submit to him what was right according to the treatises on the law; but if he asks me what is expedient for reasons of state, I should at once tell him that all that he does is right, and is in accordance with the rules and laws of empire; and, indeed, if anything is over and beyond such rules and

¹ The expression used by Zia-i-Barni is 'Ulamā-i-Duniya, learned and wise men of the world, but in the Tabakat-i-Akbari both in the lith. ed. and in the MSS., the expression is 'Ulamā-i-Dīn, men learned in religious doctrines.

laws, it only conduces to the pomp and grandeur of the empire ; and would result in various advantages to it." After that the Sultân said that : " I have taken three years' pay from all horsemen who did not appear at the musters : and have put to the sword all rebels, and all disturbers of the peace, with all their children and dependants, and have brought into the treasury all the property which they might have had, wherever it might be, and have ruined and destroyed their families. I have also prescribed various pains and penalties for thieves, and wine-bibbers and adulterers. Do you say that all this is contrary to the law ?" The Kâzî got up from his seat, went to a distance, and placing his head on the ground said : " It is all against the law." The Sultân grew angry, and went into the women's apartments.

Couplet.

When thou dost say what's right and just !
'Tis God himself that teacheth thee !

The next day the Sultân sent for Kâzî Maghîsuddîn, showed him great kindness, and gave him a robe and a thousand tangāls as a reward. He said : " I am a Musalmān and the son of a Musalmān. All the rigour and punishment that I use is for the good of the empire. I do not know what will happen to me, to-morrow, on the day of judgment."

After some time the Sultân marched with his troops towards Chitor, and having conquered the fort in a short time, returned to Dehli. When the news reached Mawara-un-Nahr that Sultân 'Alā-uddîn was engaged with the siege of a distant fort, and would remain there for a long time, the Mughal Targhî, who has been mentioned already, came with a large army to plunder Hindustan, and encamped on the bank of the Jamnā near Dehli. But the Sultân had finished the conquest of Chitor ; and returned to Dehli a month before this. The flower of the Sultân's army had however marched to the extreme south of the Dakin, to conquer Arangal ; and most of the great Amîrs had gone to their own Jāgîrs, after the conquest of Rantambor, and the troops which were with the Sultân were badly equipped, owing to the rains, and the length of the time they had been in camp. The Sultân in a state of

perplexity came out of Dehli with the troops he had with him, and encamped in the plain of Sirī. He strengthened his position by digging trenches, and placing thorns, bound together, and other means of defence, and waited for the Amīrs whom he had summoned from different directions. The Amīrs could not, however, join him, as the Mughals had occupied the country round Dehli, and had fortified their positions. Some of them waited at Kol, and some at Baran. When two months had elapsed, Targhī, without any visible cause, went away. The citizens of Dehli ascribed this to the favour of Sheikh Nizāmuddīn, may his tomb be holy; and counted it as one of his miracles. They say that a panic seized Targhī, and he started in confusion, and returned [to his own country].

After that the Sultān made Sirī his capital, and laid the foundations of great buildings, and rebuilt the citadel of Dehli; and again strengthened the forts, which were situated along the path of the entrance of the Mughals. He also determined to have such an army as would be sufficient for encountering the Mughals, as well as for defending the empire (against other enemies); but he found that his revenue was not sufficient for the maintenance of such an army. He accordingly took counsel with his wise ministers and experienced nobles. They said, that if horses, and arms, and all the accoutrements of a soldier, on which the strength of an army depends, and grain, and all other necessities which the common people require, became cheap, the wishes of the Sultān might be realized. For the soldier would, on account of the cheapness of grain, be able to provide himself with provisions, even on the small pay he would get. The Sultān then framed a few rules on this subject, in consultation with his Vazīrs, who were the wisest men of the age. Owing to these rules, all the necessities of life became cheap. The first rule was this, that a price was fixed for the different kinds of grain, in accordance with the orders of the Sultān. The market people were not allowed to have any power in fixing the price of grains. What was settled was this:

Wheat, per maund, seven and a half jitals; barley per maund, four jitals.					
Gram	„	five jitals;	rice	„	five „
(Cicer arietinum)			(in husk)		
Mash	„	five „	Moth	„	three „
(Vetch, phaseolus radiatus)			(lentil, phaseolus aconiti folius).		

These rates remained unaltered till the end of Sultān 'Alā-uddin's reign ; and no change took place in them, either on account of drought, or any kind of dearth. The second rule was this, that Malik Kabul Ulugh Khān, who was a wise man with great firmness of character, was appointed to be Inspector of the grain market (which in the language of Hindustan is called a Mandui), so that he might see that all buying and selling was according to the rates fixed by the Sultān. The third rule was this, that the share of the produce of the crown-lands, which belonged to the Sultān, should be collected and stored in the towns ; so that if there should be any deficiency in the grain brought to the market, it might be sold at the fixed rate. The fourth rule (or order) was this, that Malik Kabul should summon the grain dealers of the various towns in the empire, and settle them on the bank of the Jamnā, so that they might bring grain from the various parts of the empire, and sell it in the market of Dehli at the Sultān's rates ; and he should take bonds from them for this purpose. The fifth rule was for the prohibition of regrating, and this was carried to such a point that if it appeared that any soldier or cultivator had committed the offence of regrating, the grain was taken from him, and was added to the Sultan's grain, and the man was amerced. The sixth rule was this, that all cultivators were directed to sell the produce of their fields where it was grown, and not to take one grain to their houses, and the tax-gatherers were ordered to collect the dues from the rayyats in such a way, that the latter might use the produce of their land in the fields, and might not take anything but their own share to their houses, and might not commit the offence of regrating. The seventh rule was this, that a report of the rates of the prices of the different kinds of grain, and of all matters connected with the grain market, had to be submitted every day in detail to the Sultān. If there was the least infraction of these rules, the managers of the markets and their agents were punished. An order was also passed, that in seasons of drought, each man should buy from the market a quantity of grain proportionate to the number of persons in his family ; and no one was allowed to buy more than was sufficient for the daily needs of his family. Officers were appointed to attend to this ; and there was the greatest scrutiny and rigour about it. The Sultān employed spies to make secret

reports to him about this matter. No one was allowed to make a difference of even half a jītal in the rates fixed by the Sultān.

Rules were also framed, and provisions made, to secure the cheap sale of cloth. The first was this, that an extensive building was erected near the Badāūn gate; and was named the mansion of justice, and the Sultān ordered that all piece-goods brought from the different parts of the empire should be deposited in it, and should be sold there, and no one was to sell any piece-goods in the market, or in his own house. The buying and selling in the mansion of justice was to take place from early morning to the hour of the first prayers. If it became known that any of the market people closed his shop before the hour of early prayer, or had opened it after early morning, he was punished. The second was this, that all piece-goods were sold at the rates which were fixed from before the throne. [These were] raw silk¹ of Dehli, sixteen tangahs; raw silk of orange colour, six tangahs; silk mixed with hair, three tangahs; red striped stuff, eight jitals; common stuffs, thirty-six jitals; red lining of Nāgore, twenty-four jitals; fine Shirin bāft, five tangahs; medium Shirin bāft, three tangahs; best Silahati, four tangahs; medium Silahati, three tangahs; coarse Silahati two tangahs; fine cotton, twenty yards, one tangah; grey coarse cotton, forty yards, one tangah; sheets, ten jitals each. The third rule was this, that

¹ There are some differences in the names of the different kinds of stuff. The first kind is called حو in the lith. ed. In two of the MSS. it appears to be خشن, which means coarse rough cloth. In the third, it is خيز which may be Kḥazz or Kḥanz. I have adopted Kḥazz as it is not likely that coarse rough cloth should be placed at the head of the list, and should be valued at sixteen tangahs. The first class is also called 'Delhi Kḥazz Silk' in Major Fuller's translations from the Tarikh-i-Fīroz Shāhī given in Journ. A.S.B., 1870. The fourth kind is called برد قلمی دولعل in the lith. ed. In the MSS. it is called برد قلمی دو لعل in MS. B and برد قلمی لعل in MS. C. I cannot exactly make out the meaning. In Major Fuller's translations already referred to it is called red-striped stuff, and I have taken this name. The price in the translation is six jitals, but in the lith. ed. as well as in the MSS. of the Tabakat-i-Akbari it is eight jitals. The price of the best kind appears in the lith. ed. and in the MSS. as thirty-six jitals. This appears to be a mistake. The price in Major Fuller's translation is three and a half jitals. The price of fine and middling Silāhatī is six and four tangahs respectively in the Tarikh-i-Fīroz Shāhī, but the translator considered the price mentioned for fine Silāhatī was very high.

the names of the merchants of the city, and of different parts of the empire, were entered in a register; and they were directed that they should bring all piece-goods into the city, as they had been accustomed to do before; and should sell them, in the mansion of justice, at the rates fixed by the Sultan. Any one who neglected to do this, was held to be an offender. The third measure was this, that sums of money were advanced from the treasury to the merchants of the city, so that they might bring piece-goods from different parts of the empire, and sell them, in the mansion of justice, at the prescribed rates. The fifth rule was this, that whenever any of the noted Amīrs required any specially fine piece of cloth, he had to obtain a license from the chief of the market. This rule was framed with this object, that merchants living in different parts of the country might not buy such fine cloth, in the mansion of justice, at the fixed rates, and sell them at other places at higher prices.

Four rules were also framed to secure the cheap sale of horses. The first for fixing the classes, and the price for each class; for instance, for horses of the first class, one hundred tangahs; for those of the second class from eighty to ninety tangahs; and for those of the third class from sixty-five to seventy tangahs. The second rule was this, that horsedealers, and the moneyed men of the city were not allowed to buy horses at the market. The moneyed men of the city, who had been accustomed to buy cheap and sell dear, were driven out of the city and banished and dispersed. The third rule was for the admonition and punishment of brokers of horses; it was ordered that if a single horse was sold in a market, in contravention of the Sultan's rates, all the brokers in the market would be imprisoned and punished. The fifth rule was this, that at the end of each month an enquiry was made about the classification of horses, and their prices; and about the condition and behaviour of the brokers, and if the slightest deviation from the rules framed by the Sultān was detected, the brokers were punished.

The four rules, just mentioned, about horses, were also enforced in the case of prisoners of war (slaves), and cattle.

Everything that happened in the markets was immediately written down; and daily reports were placed before the Sultān. Spies were also appointed to enquire about the condition of the

market, and if it appeared that the managers of the markets had reported anything contrary to the truth, they were punished. Everything which had to be sold and bought in the markets were brought to the presence of the Sultān and he examined them and fixed the rates for them. He did not consider even such things as needles and combs and shoes, and earthen pitchers and cups, as too trifling. The prices of precious, as well as common, things were fixed by the Sultān personally; and a statement of the rates of their prices was supplied to the markets. The care and supervision which the Sultān exercised over market people, and the scrutiny which he made about the rates, were carried to such a pitch, that after a time, young children, who had no knowledge about buying and selling things, were sent to the markets with a few tangahs in their hands, so that they might buy such things as children were fond of. The things were taken to the Sultān, and if it appeared that there was the least difference either in the rate, or in the weight, the man who had sold the things was punished. The mildest punishment that was inflicted in such cases was the cutting off of the ear or the nose.

After articles of food, and the accoutrements of the soldiers, had become cheap, and the strength of the army had been increased, the doors of the entrance of the Mughals, and of their tyrannies, were in a manner closed. If at any time a band of Mughals came towards Delhi, they were all taken prisoners and slain. For instance, on one occasion Ali Beg, the grandson¹ of Changiz Khān, and Tartak, came with forty thousand horsemen into the country of Amrohā along the skirts of the Sivalik hills. Sultān 'Alauddin nominated Malik Nayak Akhur Beg² to march against

¹ Here also نيسم or نيزم is used in the sense of a descendant and not strictly of a grandson. The name of the second commander is doubtful. It is given as Tartūk both in Elliot and in Major Fuller's translation, but it is said in a note in the former, that the "MSS. (of the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāhī*) have 'Taryūk' and 'Ziyūk'. In the text of Ferishta he is called Taryāl; but in the translation '*Khwāja Tarh*,' which is in accordance with D'Ohsson (*Hist. Des Mongols*, iv. 571). The *Tabakat-i-Akbari* has Rasmak." It is however not Rasmak in the lith. ed. or in any of the three MSS. of the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* I have collated. It is برماک in the former, and ترماک and تریاک in the three MSS.

² This name is not clear. It appears like Malik Nūyak Akhur Beg in the lith. ed. and in the MSS. The name is also Malik Nūyak Akhur Beg in

them with a large army. They came up with them within the Amroha territory and gave battle. Most of the Mughals were slain, and Ali Beg and Tartak were taken prisoners; and were brought before the Sultān, with chains round their necks, with the twenty thousand horses, which had also been taken. That day, the Sultān came out of the city, and held a public reception on the Subhānī Chabutara, and the troops were stationed in two lines from this place to Indarpat.¹ At this time Ali Beg and Tartāk Beg with the other captives were led in front of the Sultān, and most of them were slain by being thrown under the feet of elephants.

Couplet.

Whoever in this world doth ill,
To him at last that ill returns.

A second time a Mughal named Kabek² came with a large army into the town of Khakar, and fought with the army of Dehli; but most of them were slain; and a tower was built of their heads, near the Badāūn gate. After a time, another Mughal army, about thirty thousand strong, came into the Siwālik territory and commenced to plunder the country. When this came to the knowledge of the Sultān, he sent a numerous army against them. This army took up a position near the river Rāvi, on the route by which the Mughals would return. When the Mughal army, encumbered with much booty, arrived at the bank of the river, the army of Dehli attacked them with great bravery; and were crowned with triumph

Elliot, but it is "Malik Atābak, the master of horse," in Major Fuller's translation. According to Mr Tolbort's note appended to Major Fuller's translation, the commander sent by the Sultān was, according to Badāūnī, Malik Manik (= Naib Kāfur Hazār-Dināri) and, according to Ferishta, Tughluk Khān.

¹ The name of this place is given in both Elliot and Major Fuller's translation as Indarpat. It may be Indarpat in MS. A of the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, but in the lith. ed. and in MS. C it is Madinah and in MS. B it is Nadinah.

² The name of this Mughal leader is Kank in Elliot and Gang in Major Fuller's translation. It is Kabak or Kabik or Kapik in the lith. ed. and in the MSS. of the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*. The name of the town which was attacked by the Mughals was given as Khekar by Zia-i-Barni and Khakar or Khakhara in the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*. Probably the river Ghaggar near Patālā is meant.

and victory. They took a large number of the Mughal leaders captive, and kept them imprisoned in the fort of Tarāinah,¹ which was in the neighbourhood; and brought their families and adherents to Delhi, where they were sold in the market-place as slaves. After that, Malik Khās Hājib was ordered to go to Tarāinah and to have the prisoners executed. When some time had elapsed after this, a Mughal of the name of Iqbalmanda invaded Hindustan with a large army. A battle took place between him and the army of Delhi at Dihandah Amīr 'Alī Wāhan²; and he was slain, while the other Mughals were brought to Delhi as prisoners; and were trampled to death under the feet of elephants. After that, such a fear and dread took possession of the hearts of the Mughals, that the idea [of invading] Hindustān was obliterated from their minds. The country remained free from their depredations to the end of the reign of Kutbuddīn Mubārak Shāh. Sultān Tughlaq Shah, who in those days was called the Ghāzi (warrior) Malik, and held the fiefs of Dībālpur and Lahore, raided every year up to the boundaries of the Mughal country; and pillaged those districts. The Mughals could not come and oppose him, and defend the outskirts of their country.

After the depredations of the Mughals had been completely stopped, and most of the towns of Hindustān, which had been the refuge and asylum of turbulent and refractory people, had been brought under complete subjection, and the paths of the coming and going of merchants and all other travellers had been made perfectly safe, and the strength of the army had also been raised to the needs of the empire, Sultān 'Alāuddīn being now firmly seated on the throne of Delhi, and having his mind perfectly free from all anxiety, contemplated the conquest of the distant towns and provinces; and whatever country he attempted to conquer, that he subjugated, without any trouble or difficulty.

¹ The name of the fort is given as Nārānah in Elliot and as Nārūnah in Major Fuller's translation.

² The name of this place is not clear. It appears from a note to Major Fuller's translation, that the MS of the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* which the writer of the note had, had the name of the place as I have given it. The writer of the note adds that Dihandah was the name of a river near Ajodhan Patan-i-Panjab, south-west of Deopulpur or Dībālpur. The name of the place where the battle took place is not given in Elliot.

Couplets.

When the help of Heaven to the fortunate comes,
 He gains his object ev'n before his wish ;
 While still his wish is in his heart,
 The treasure to his hand doth come ;
 If the tilth of his purpose is in the east,
 From the west to him comes rain and wind.

The success which crowned his aims and objects, and the wonderful works he accomplished by his exertions and endeavours have been deemed by many to be nothing less than miracles, and they have attributed their achievement to revelation and inspiration ; while a few have described them as miracles caused by evil agencies and have thought that they were the effect of deception caused by God ;¹ while others have thought, that the safety and the happiness of the people were due to the auspicious existence of Shaikh Nizāmuddin Aulia (may his grave be holy !).

In short, Malik Nāib Kāfur Hazār-dināri was sent with other great Amīrs and renowned Khāns against Deogīr, one of the cities of the Dakin. The Sultān distinguished him with many honours and granted him a red canopy and other royal favours. Khwajah Haji, the deputy muster-master of the forces, was sent with him, so that he might supervise the operations of the army and take charge of the booty. Malik Kāfur on arrival at Deogīr made, by means of his bravery and his skilful manœuvres, the ruler of the district (Rām Deo) and his sons prisoners ; and took possession of all the treasures and seventeen elephants. These he sent to Dehli, with a report of the victory. Immediately after this, he showed great kindness to Rām Deo ; and took him with the elephants and treasure to Dehli ; and there became the recipient of Royal favours. The Sultān treated Rām Deo with generosity, bestowed the title of Rāy-i-Rāyān, and a canopy and a lac of tangāhs, on him as his reward ; and confirming him in the possession of Deogīr sent him back. Rām Deo then became a loyal servant of the Sultān, and always rendered him allegiance, homage, and valuable service.

In the year 790 A.H., Sultān 'Alāuddīn sent Malik Kāfur, a

¹ The language sounds blasphemous, but the translation is literal.

second time, with a large army to Arangal. At the time of sending him off, he directed that if Rudar Deo,¹ the ruler of Arangal, made over treasure, and guns and elephants, and agreed to pay an annual tribute, he should be satisfied with that; and should return. He should not, in that case, exert himself to conquer the fort or to take Rai Rudar Deo prisoner. He should also consult with Khwājah Hājī about the affairs of those parts, and should not punish the Amirs for petty offences, and minor derelictions of duty. He should however not allow any negligence. If a soldier acquired some booty, and begged to be allowed to retain it, he should grant his prayer; also if a trooper's horse should be killed in battle, or be stolen, or become useless, he should give him a better horse in place of it. These things he should consider to be the duties of a ruler. Malik Kāfur and Khwājah Hājī then bade the Sultān farewell; and, by rapid marches, went towards Arangal. When they arrived at Chanderi, they stopped there for a few days, and took a muster of the army. From that place they started for Deogīr. Rām Deo advanced to welcome them, made a large present, performed the ceremonies of homage and service; and accompanied the army for several stages. He then obtained leave to return and went back to Deogīr.

When Malik Nāib arrived near Arangal, the neighbouring Rais, through fear of the army of Islam, had hastened forward; and built a citadel in the outer fort, which was very extensive, into which they crowded, and which they prepared to defend. Rudar Deo with his own followers took shelter in the inner citadel, which was built of stone. The Sultān's army besieged the fort, and made every effort to seize it, and the Hindus, from inside, to oppose and prevent them. After a time, the outer fort was taken, after a severe struggle. Most of the Rais and Zamindārs and their families and dependants were taken prisoner; and an immense number were slain. Rāi Rudar Deo, in great distress, opened negotiations, and begged for protection. Malik Nāib took from him much treasure, a hundred elephants, and seven thousand horses, and gave him assurances of safety. It was also stipulated that he would send suitable tribute every year. Malik

¹ The name is given as Laddar Deo in Elliot. It is Laddar Deo also in the lith. ed. of the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* but it is Rudar Deo in two of the MSS.; besides Rudar (Rudra) Deo is a well-known name, whereas Laddar Deo has no meaning.

close of the same day, Malik Naib's report of the victory came, and this became the reason of the Sultān's having greater faith in the Shaikh's holiness. Although Sultān 'Alāuddīn never went in person to pay his respects to the Shaikh, yet he always showed his faith and trust in him by sending messages to him, and by praying for his intercession.

Again in the year 910 A.H., Sultān 'Alāuddīn sent Malik Nāib towards Dhor Samundar (Dvar Samudra), and M'abar (Malabar). Khwājah Hāji, the deputy muster-master of the forces, was sent with him. When they arrived at Deogīr, they found that Ray Rām Deo was dead, but his son performed the usual services. Malik Nāib and Khwājah Hāji did not delay at Deogīr, but, leaving it quickly, reached the vicinity of Dhor Samundar. Presently they captured that place, and took Mallar Deo, who was the ruler there, prisoner. They obtained thirty-six elephants and much treasure, and sent a report of their victory to Dehli. They then advanced with their troops to M'abar, and conquered it also, and having demolished the temples there, and broken the golden and jewelled idols, sent the gold into the Treasury. They also obtained much treasure from each of the two Rāys, who ruled in M'abar and returned with three hundred and twelve elephants, twenty thousand horses, ninety six thousand maunds of gold and chests filled with gems, and pearls, and other booty, which was beyond all calculation, and did service to the Sultān. The latter was delighted with the great victories achieved, and the immense quantities of booty obtained, and conferred a share of this plunder on the Amirs.

One of the wonderful events which occurred in the latter part of Sultān 'Alāuddīn's reign was this, that a number of worthless neo-Moslems who held no posts, and had no stipends, conspired together that they would slay the Sultān, when he would be out hunting and would have none of his attendants near him. When information of this plot reached the Sultān, he, owing to the harshness and violence which had been ingrained in his nature, directed that every one of the class of neo-Moslems, that may be found anywhere, should be slain; so in the course of a single day, a few thousand inoffensive persons, who had no knowledge of the conspiracy, were ruthlessly slain, and their property was confiscated, and their offspring destroyed.

At the same time a band of Bāhtis¹ appeared. The Sultān ordered that they should all be seized, and saws should be drawn across their heads, and they were slain in this cruel way; and as the Sultān was of a violent and implacable nature, no one had the hardihood to intercede for anybody before him. When he was annoyed with any one, his anger was not appeased, even in the course of a lifetime; and he never left a way open for peace. Although in the early period of his reign he used to take counsel with people about matters of policy, and allowed them to interfere in them, yet in his later years, when his mind was free from anxiety about every thing, and all his political projects ended according to his wishes, he did whatever came into his thoughts, and accorded with his views, and did not take counsel with any one in such matters.

It has been said that no other Emperor of Hindustān gained so many victories as Sultān 'Alāuddīn. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāhi* says, that so many edifices, such as mosques, and minarets, and reservoirs, and citadels, and other similar structures, were erected in his time, as had not been built in any other. The number of artificers and master-workmen also, as were seen in his reign, no one remembered in any other period. The veracity and righteousness, in the higher classes, as well as in ordinary people, the obedience displayed by the Hindus, and the suppression of all turbulence, which were seen in his time, were never found at any other. In no other period were so many great religious teachers, and so many wayfarers, in the path of faith, whose noble presence made Delhi the object of the envy of the other cities of the world, collected together as in his reign. Among them was the Shaikh-ul-Islām, Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn Auliā Al 'Aziz, may his tomb be holy! who stands not in need of any praise, and who, seated on the high road of instruction and guidance, showed the true path to the people. Many people were assembled in the *Khānkūh* of Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliā from the 5th to the 10th day of the Muharram,

¹ I cannot find out who these were. The name is باحثان in the lith. ed. and in the MSS. it appears to be باجستان or باجتیان. The corresponding passage in Zia-i-Barni is translated as "in most of the years . . . disturbances (ibūhatiyān) broke out in the city" in Elliot (iii. 206), but it appears to me that Bākhtiāns or Bāhtiāns were some schismatics. Ibāhat means publishing, divulging a secret; permitting, giving liberty.

which were the feast days of Shaikh-ul-Islam Fariduddin of Ajodhan; and during those days people came to Dehli from all parts of Hindustān; and even the doors and walls (i.e. inanimate objects) broke out in exclamations of wonder, on seeing the ecstasies of the men immersed in the Divine essence who were present. Another was Shaikh 'Alauddin, grandson of Shaikh Fariduddin, who had been seated on the carpet of instruction in Ajodhan, and who was so deeply engaged in exoteric and esoteric worship that people called him a holy angel. Another was His Holiness, the Pole star of saints, Shaikh Ruknuddin, son of Shaikh Sadrudin, son of Shaikh Bahāuddin, Zakaria, Multāni, may God sanctify their spirits! who used to guide the wanderers in the desert of search (for God) along the highway of faith to the furthest goal of accomplishment. All the inhabitants of Multān and Uchch, and of the whole province of Sind, came to his gate, and throwing themselves under the wing of his protection, obtained safety from dangers and calamities. His illustrious father Shaikh Sadrudin, in spite of the fact that he had so much wealth, which he had inherited from his father, and that he had so many offerings and gifts that even imagination could not keep count of them, was almost always in debt. Another was Sayyad Tājuddin, son of Sayyad Kutbuddin, who in liberality, erudition, patience, and other human perfections was unrivalled in that age. For a time, he was the Qāzī of Audh, and after that he became Qāzī of Badāūn. Another was Sayyad Ruknuddin, brother of the aforesaid Sayyad Tājuddin, who was the Qāzī of Karah; and was adorned with praiseworthy qualities. Next among the Sayyads of Kaithal were Sayyad Maghisuddin, and his brother Sayyad Maslahatuddin; and both these brothers were possessed of erudition and piety and purity and all perfections. They were called the Sayyads of Nohatah. There were other Sayyads, and great men; but a detailed description of each would be too long. Among these was Qāzi Sadrudin 'Ārif; who was the chief Qāzī of the kingdom and had the title of Sadr-i-Jahān. After him Qāzi Jalaluddin Dilwāti¹ became the Qāzī of the kingdom, and

¹ This word is given differently in the lith. ed. and in the MSS. In the former it is Lawāti. In MS. A it is Lawahī; MS. B Dilwāti and in MS. C Dewalhī.

Maulāna Ziāuddīn-i-Biānāh became the Sadr-i-Jahān (chief Judge). In the latter days of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, Malik Iltijār Hamiduddīn Multānī became the Qāzī of the kingdom.

Among the exoteric learned men, who were versed in various sciences, and were engaged in teaching and imparting knowledge, there were forty-six, viz. Qāzī Fakhruddīn Nāfsah,¹ Qāzī Sharfuddīn Sarmani, Maulānā Nasīruddīn Ghanī, Maulānā Tājuddīn Mukaddam, Qāzī Ziāuddīn Biānah, Maulānā Zahīr Lang, Maulānā Ruknuddīn Sunāmī, Maulānā Tājuddīn Kalāhī, Maulānā Zahiruddīn Bhakari, Qāzī Mahiuddīn Kāshānī, Maulānā Kamāluddīn Kului, Maulānā Wajihuddīn Pāeli, Maulānā Minhājuddīn Kabāi, Maulānā Nizāmuddīn Kalāhi, Maulānā Nasīruddīn Karah, Maulānā Nasīruddīn Sābūni, Maulānā Alāuddīn Tājir, Maulānā Karimuddīn Jauharī, Maulānā Hujjat Multānī, Maulānā Hamiduddīn Mukhlis, Maulānā Burhānuddīn Bhakari, Maulānā Iftikhāruddīn Barni, Maulānā Hisāmuddīn Surkh, Maulānā Wajihuddīn Malhu, Maulānā 'Alāuddīn Kurk, Maulānā Hisāmuddīn Shādī, Maulānā Hamiduddīn Multānī, Maulānā Shihābuddīn Multānī, Maulānā Fakhruddīn Hānsui, Maulānā Fakhruddīn Safāfi, Qāzī Zainuddīn Nāfilah, Maulānā Sarkhi, Maulānā Wajihuddīn Rāzī, Maulānā 'Alāuddīn Sadr Shari'at, Maulānā Mirān Bariklah, Maulānā Najibuddīn Shādī, Maulānā Shamsuddīn, Maulānā Nasiruddīn, Maulānā 'Alāuddīn Lahūri, Qāzī Shamsuddīn Kārzunī, Maulānā Shamsuddīn Yehiya, Maulānā Nasīruddīn Itāwī, Maulānā M'ainuddīn Lali, Maulānā Iftikhāruddīn Rāzī, Maulānā M'uizzuddīn Andrehī, and Maulānā Najmuddīn Inteshārī. In the latter part of the reign of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, Maulānā 'Ilmuddīn, the grandson of Shaikh Bahāuddīn Zakariā, who had been one of the most learned men of his time, came to Delhi, and employed himself in imparting scientific and traditional knowledge. Among the teachers of the science of reading the Kurān, Maulānā Shatī, Maulānā 'Alāuddīn Mukrā and Khwājah Zakī, the nephew of Hasan Basri, were distinguished. Preachers like Maulānā 'Imād Hasan Darwesh, and his brother Maulānā Jalāl, Maulānā Ziāuddīn Sunāmī, Maulānā Shihābuddīn Khalilī and Maulānā Karīm were the best of that period. Sipah-

¹ There are some differences in the sequence of the names and in the names themselves in the lith. ed. and in the three MSS.

sālār Tājuddīn 'Irākī, Khudāwandzādah Chāsnigir, the grandson of Balban-i-Buzurg, Malik Rukuuddīn Abīb, Malik 'Izzuddīn Tughān Khān and Malik Nasiruddīn Nūr Khān were the wittiest courtiers. Among the poets of the reign of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, by whose incomparable existence the capital, Dehli, nay the whole country of Hindustān, was embellished and adorned; and the fame of whose eloquence had spread over the whole world (were the following); but the chief among them was Amīr Khusru, who in the use of words, and the invention of meanings, had supreme excellence; and the marks of whose greatness and excellence are clear, and patent from his works, in prose and verse. He was likewise a mystic, deeply immersed in ecstatic contemplation. Most of his time was spent in fasting and prayers; and he was quite intoxicated with the love and longing for God. Sultān 'Alāuddīn used to pay this excellent product of the age a stipend of a thousand tangahs. Another was Amīr Hasan Sanjari, who was celebrated for the facility of his composition, and the elegance of his diction. He composed most elegant odes, was a great poet, and was called the S'ādī of Hindustān. He was also unrivalled in that age for the purity of his morals, and contentment, and for abandoning (worldly pleasures) and his love of solitude. He was a disciple of his holiness Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliā, may his tomb be holy! and he collected together the sayings of the Shaikh, which he had heard in the period of his discipleship, and named the collection "The Fawāed-ul-Fawād." He wrote also many other works in prose and verse. Sadruddīn 'Alī, Fakhruddīn Kawās, Hamid-ud-dīn Rājah, Maulānā 'Ārif, 'Ubed Hakīm and Shihāb Sadr-nashīn were also poets of the reign of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, and they used to receive stipends on this account. Each of these had a special style of composition. The collections of their odes bear witness to their perfect beauty and art. There were also a few unrivalled historians. Among the Messiah-like physicians, the master physician Maulānā Bādruddīn Damashki had such skill, that if any one brought to him the urine of a number of animals collected in a phial, he, by merely looking at it, was able to say that the urine of such and such animals had been mixed up in it. He was also a master of the secrets of mysticism, and of their examination and revelation. There were also a few astrologers and sooth-sayers, who might be described as masters of witchcraft in disclosing

the secrets of the mind, and of future events. There were also so many reciters of the *Qurān* and of odes, and other masters of the joyous art and men of other arts, that they cannot be enumerated in this brief work. ✓

After the reign of Sultān 'Alāuddīn had been prolonged, and his success and grandeur had reached a high point, owing to the rule that all things after arriving at perfection fall to decay, and every beginning necessarily has an end, he began to do such things as became the cause of the downfall of his *empire* and of the destruction of his greatness. Among these were this, that he became so enamoured and infatuated with the beauty of Malik Nāib Kāfūr Hazār-dinārī, that he resigned the reins of power completely into the latter's hand; so that in matters of state he never neglected to attend to his wishes, nor did he ever swerve from his advice however injudicious it might be. Another thing was this, that he removed his young sons from the *haramkhāna*, in the women's apartments in the palace, before they could do without the supervision of guardians and the control of governors; and at the same time did not take any steps for the improvement of their character. He conferred a canopy on Khizir Khān and declared him to be the heir-apparent before any rectitude could be perceived in his disposition, and he did not appoint any wise and experienced noblemen to look after him, who might in the beginning prevent him from indulging, in excess, in pleasures and sensuality. It so happened, that while the Sultān was ill, he gave permission to Khizir Khān to go to the district of Amroha, on an excursion of hunting and pleasure; and told him, that he would send for him, as soon as he recovered. Khizir Khān had made a vow, that as soon as the Sultān should recover, he would come on foot, on a pilgrimage to [the tombs of] the saints of Delhi. When he heard a report of the Sultan's recovery, before the command for his return could issue, he came on foot and bare-footed to Delhi on the pilgrimage. Malik Nāib, who had begotten the lust of empire in his head, and was endeavouring to extirpate the Sultān's progeny, reported to the latter, that Khizir Khān had formed a wicked design; and had returned, without waiting for permission. In this way, he induced the Sultān to send Khizir Khān to the fort of Gwalior. After a time the Sultān was attacked by dropsy, and the disease became

worse from day to day. At this time he summoned Malik Nāib from Deogir; and Alp Khān from Gujrāt. After they had come to the capital, the former, owing to the enmity which he had against the latter, deceived the Sultān with absurd but specious representations, and induced him to order his execution. Shortly after this, the Sultān expired.

Couplet.

Some breaths he counted; and he dust became.

Time laughed at this, and said, he too is gone!

Some say Malik Nāib poisoned him. God knows all. He reigned for a period of twenty years and a few months.

SULTĀN SHIHĀBUDDĪN, YOUNGER SON OF SULTĀN 'ALĀUDDĪN
KHALJĪ.

Malik Naib called together the Amīrs and the great officers of state, on the second day, after the death of Sultān 'Alāuddīn; and produced a writing of the latter, to the effect that he had made Sultān Shihābuddīn his successor; and had superseded Khizir Khān. The former was accordingly placed on the throne, and Malik Nāib employed himself in performing the duties of the Regent. On the very first day he sent Malk Sambhal to Gwalīar, with instructions to go there, and to draw the pencil across the eyes of Khizir Khān and his brother Shādī Khān, and promised to make him the *barbak* (the master of ceremonies) in return for the service. The ungrateful wretch accepted the task and made the two lights of Sultān 'Alāuddīn's eyes (i.e. his two sons) blind. The mother of Khizir Khān who was called Malkah-i-Jahān was imprisoned, and all the money and other valuables, as well as the gold which she possessed, was taken away from her. Prince Mubārak Khān, who afterwards became Sultān Ḳutbuddīn, was confined in his house. Malik Nāib intended to have him blinded also, but as it was destined otherwise, he was not permitted to carry out his nefarious design. Every day, for a short time, he brought the infant Sultān Shihābuddīn on the terrace of the *hazār-satun* (thousand column) palace and placed him on the throne there, and directed the Amīrs, great officers, chamberlains and ushers to stand in line before him, and to do homage to him. When the levee was over, the infant Sultān was sent to his mother inside the *haram*. Malik Kafur used then to go into a pavilion,

which he had set up on the terrace of the palace, and used to play, with a few eunuchs, who were his confidants, a game called Turi¹ (which was something like backgammon or dice), and he used always to plot with his special friends how to destroy Sultān's 'Alāuddīn's progeny. It so happened that a band of the old paiks, whose duty it was to guard the hazārsatun, entered into a conspiracy, exactly thirty-five days after Sultān 'Alāuddīn's death, and one night, after the people had left the royal palace, and the doors had been locked, entered the pavilion and slew Malik Nāib and his companions.

Couplet.

If evil thou hast done, for good hope not ;
For ne'er the tamarisk doth bear the grape.
Oh thou ! that in autumn did but barley sow ;
Hope not, at harvest time, rich wheat to reap.

They brought prince Mubārak Khān from the prison, and made him the Regent of Sultān Shihābuddīn, in place of Malik Nāib. Mubārak Khān carried on the duties of the Regent for a time, and by his attention to the affairs of government brought the Amīrs and Maliks over to his side. When two months had elapsed he ascended the throne, and assumed the title of Sultān Kutbuddīn Mubārak Shah. He sent Sultān Shihābuddīn to Gwāliar. He also dispersed the paiks who had slain Malik Nāib, and whose hearts had become filled up with pride and arrogance, and sent them to the different towns in the neighbourhood; and he had their chiefs, who had become old, executed.

Couplet.

That weed with fire should be burnt,
From which a thorn some heart doth reach.

At the time when the descendants of Sultān 'Alāuddīn were being destroyed and his offspring cut off, they asked Shaikh Bashīr Dewānah, who was one of the 'absorbed,' " Ah master ! what is this, that is happening ?" He said : " As 'Alāuddīn destroyed the children of his uncle and benefactor, the same thing is happening to him also."

¹ The name of the game is given as Belmurhui or something like that in the lith. ed., and Serhin, Turi, Paiwandi respectively in the three MSS.

Couplet.

For every good a good, for every ill an ill, reck'ning there is ;
For every deed that's done, the universe a recompense
provides !

His rule lasted for three months and a few days.

SULTÂN KUTBUDDIN MUBĀRAK SHAH, SON OF SULTÂN 'ALĀUDDIN
KHALJI.

When in the year 717 A.H.,¹ Sultân Kutbuddin sat on the throne at Delhi, he conferred the title of Zafar Khān on Malik Dinār, the keeper of the elephants ; that of Sher Khān on Muhammad Moulāi his own uncle ; and that of Sadr Jahān on Maulānā Zīn-uddīn, son of Maulānā Bahāuddīn, the calligraphist. He distinguished Malik Karā Beg, by allowing him to be near himself ; and he distributed the various high offices, among the Amīrs in correspondence with the condition of each. He specially honoured a young Parwārī,² who had been brought up by Malik Shādī, Nāib Khān Hajib of Sultân 'Alāuddīn, and conferred the title of Khusrū Khān on him. Parwārī is the name of a caste of the menial class, who are found in large numbers in Gujrāt. Owing to the great affection which the Sultân felt for this man, he made over the whole of Malik Shādī's retainers to him ; and as he was madly infatuated with him, he appointed him to the post of Vazīr, although the qualifications for the position could not be found in him.

Couplet.

If you for a well-adorned kingdom wish,
Entrust not, to one new risen, duties high.
If you wish not thy greatness to destroy,
Give not great work to one who work hath never done.

He became fond of him to such distraction, that he could not be without him for one moment.

¹ This date is incorrect. Zia Barni has 717 A.H. as the year of Sultân Kutbuddīn Mubārak Shah's accession, and he has been followed by Nizām-uddīn as well as Badāūni and Ferishta. The correct date 716 A.H. is given in Amīr Khusrū's *masnawī* (poem) called the Nuhsipohir. The Tūrikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī fixes the date as the 20th Muharram 716 A.H.

² This word is given as Parwāz in the lith. ed., and as Barāo or Parāo in

In short, the disturbances which had occurred, after the death of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, were suppressed after the accession of Sultān K̄utbuddīn; and repose and contentment appeared among men. As the new Sultān was young and good-natured and kind-hearted, and had endured the sufferings of imprisonment, and the fear of imminent death, he issued an order on the first day of his reign for the release of prisoners, and for the return of men who had been banished. He also granted a reward equal to six months' pay to the whole army, and increased the stipends of the Amirs and Maliks. He passed an order that the petitions of all suppliants should be submitted to him, a practice which had become obsolete for a long time, and orders were passed in accordance with the requests and prayers contained in them. The stipends and allowances to learned, pious, and other deserving men were increased. The villages, which in the time of Sultān 'Alāuddīn had been annexed to the crown lands, were restored to their owners, and the high rents, and exorbitant demands which became customary at that time, were all abolished. The generous treatment which the Sultān accorded to the people made them happy and contented; and they had dirams and dinars in their purses again. At the same time the rules promulgated by Sultān 'Alāuddīn, each one of which had some purpose or object on which it was based, were abrogated. Although openly the use of wine was strictly prohibited, yet adultery and turbulence and crimes, and dissipation and debauchery, which had completely disappeared in the time of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, again made their appearance among the people. During the four years and four months that Sultān K̄utbuddīn's reign extended, he did nothing but spend all his time in dissipation and in satisfying his desires and in making lavish gifts. During this time no disturbance occurred, which might cause trouble and hardship to the Sultān, nor any calamity that might endanger the happiness of the people.

As before this, Sultān 'Alāuddīn had summoned Alp K̄hān from Gujrāt, and as after that, disturbances and revolts had occurred there, Malik Kamāluddīn was sent there to suppress them; but he on

the MSS. The name is Parwari in both Elliot and Thomas; though the latter gives it as the equivalent of برداري Barwarī. Parwaris are men of low caste, chiefly employed as watchmen, gatekeepers, porters, etc.

arrival there attained to martyrdom.¹ Owing to this, the rebels gathered greater strength. Sultān Ḳutbuddīn considered the suppression of the rebellion in Gujrāt the most urgent of his duties, and sent Ain-ul-Malk Multānī with a well-equipped army to that province. He arrived there; fought with the men who had created the disturbance; routed them; and brought Nahrwālah and all the cities in the province anew under subjection; and reduced the zamindārs to humility and obedience. After this Sultān Ḳutbuddīn married the daughter of Malik Dinār, and sent the latter to Gujrāt, after conferring on him the title of Zafar Khān. He, on arrival there, completely cleared the province of the thorns and weeds of the insurgents and rebels in the course of three or four months, so that no vestige of them remained. He obtained much gold from the Rajahs and Zamindārs of the province, and sent it to the Treasury.

After the death of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, Harpāl Deo, the son-in-law of Rām Deo,² had taken possession of the country of Deogīr. Sultān Ḳutbuddīn in the second year of his reign marched with his troops against that place; and he appointed the son of a slave, of the name of Shāhīn, who had been called Bāwildā, and on whom he conferred the title of Wafā-i-Mulk, to be the regent at Dehli during his absence. After doing so, he advanced towards the Dakin. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Deogīr, Harpāl Deo and other Zamindārs, who had assembled together, being unable to withstand him dispersed [in different directions]. The Sultān remained at Deogīr for a short time, and sent a number of celebrated Amīrs and great Khāns in pursuit of Harpāl Deo. They performed the task assigned to them, and brought Harpāl Deo prisoner. He was flayed alive by order of Sultān Ḳutbuddīn, and his head was suspended from the gate of Deogīr. The Sultān was delayed³ there for some

¹ According to Ziā Barnī, Kamāluddīn Garg was sent to put down the revolt of Alp Khān in Gujrāt, but he was slain by the rebels (Elliot iii, 214).

² It is said, in Elliot iii, p. 215, that Harpāl Deo and Rām Deo had taken possession of Deogīr, but according to the Ṭabakat-i-Akbari it was Harpāl Deo the son-in-law of Rām Deo who did so.

³ The cause of the delay is not mentioned in the Ṭabakat-i-Akbari except that it is said that it was due to باز ماندگی, which may be translated as want of preparation, but from the Tarikh-i-Firozshahi (Elliot iii, 215) it appears that the delay was due to the setting in of the rains.

time; and during that time the Marhatta country also was brought under subjection. The country of Deogir was entrusted to Malik Yek-lakhi, who was one of the 'Alâi slaves, and Marhat was divided in fiefs among the Amirs. A canopy and durbâsh was then conferred on Khusrû Khân, and he was nominated for the command of the army which was sent to Mûbar; and the Sultân himself returned towards Delhi. On the way, he was most of the time engaged in drinking and dissipation. During this time, owing to the great heedlessness and negligence of Sultân Kutbuddîn and his constant indulgence in drink, a desire for rule entered the head of Malik Asaduddîn who was a cousin of Sultân 'Alâuddîn, and he entered into a conspiracy with some of the commanders of the army, and determined that after the Sultân should have passed Ghâti Sâgûn, and should have gone into the *haram*, at which time there would be no sentries or *pāiks* or any other guards near him, they would enter the *haram* and despatch him. It so happened, however, that that very night, when the Sultân would have passed Ghâti Sâgûn, one of the conspirators gave information to him of the state of things. The Sultân halted where he was, and ordered that Malik Asaduddîn should be seized, and executed; and twenty-nine sons of Yagharsh Khân (father of Malik Asaduddîn) who were at Delhi, and had no connection with the conspiracy, and some of whom were quite young, were all slain by order of the Sultân. When the Sultân arrived at Jhûn, he sent Shâdi Kâthi, the commandant of the guards, to Gwalior, so that he might put Khizir Khân, Shâdi Khân and Malik Shihâbuddîn, sons of Sultân 'Alâuddîn, who had already been blinded, to death; and might take their families and children to Delhi. Sultân Kutbuddîn always behaved ill to Shaikh Nizâmuddîn Auliâ, Al'Aziz (may his tomb be holy!), because Khizir Khân had been one of his disciples, and had always known him to be one of his well-wishers; and he always showed enmity towards him; and loosened his tongue in taunts against him.

couplets

When God on one doth wish disgrace and shame to bring,
 He doth ever incline him to revile the good;
 And when, to hide the ill in one, he doth incline;
 That man he doth dispose the sin in others to hide.

When Sultān Ḳutbuddīn arrived in Dehli, and found Gujrat and Dehli and all the country under subjection, and saw that all the Amirs and Maliks were humble, submissive and obedient to him, and there was no claimant left to the throne, the intoxication of wine, youth, and power produced vainglory in his heart, and he refused to consult with anyone in passing orders, or in the disposal of state affairs; nor did he listen to the words of any sincere well-wisher. If any one, actuated by a desire to serve him, made any representation to him which did not coincide with his own views, he at once rejected it, and loosened his tongue in derision and abuse of the counsellor; so that no one dared, even by a hint or a suggestion, to submit to him what he considered to be for his welfare. All his good qualities were changed into evil ones; and he began to act with violence and cruelty. Like his father, he began unjustly to imbrue his hand in blood. Among those of others, he ordered the execution of Zafar Khān, the feudatory of Gujrat, who was the pillar of his state, although he had committed no offence of any kind. After that, he ordered the execution of Shāhīn, on whom he had conferred the title of Wafa-i-Mulk, without any cause whatever, simply at the instigation of the envious. He began to do other things, which were calculated to cause the destruction of his power, and to bring about the downfall of his empire. He frequently adorned himself with the garments and trinkets of women; and in that guise, appeared in public assemblies. He used to call ribald and dissolute women on the terrace of the Kiosk of a thousand pillars, and ordered them to treat, with great contumely, great nobles like 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multānī, and Malik Karā Beg, who held fourteen appointments, and others like them, and insult them with obscene pleasantries and jests. He also told them to do other indecent things, so that they came before men in a state of nudity, and used to befoul their garments. Owing to the enmity which Sultān Ḳutbuddīn had against his reverence Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliā, he prevented people from going to his abode, and spoke disrespectfully and contemptuously of him. He also honoured the Shaikhzādah Jām, who was one of the Shaikh's enemies, by giving him special access to himself, and he brought Shaikh Ruknuddīn Multānī from Multān to show his hatred for the Shaikh.

After he had ordered Zafar Khān to be put to death, he sent Hisāmuddīn, who was a brother of Khusru Khān, by the mother's side,¹ with a number of Amīrs and Maliks; and made all the retainers of Zafar Khān over to him. When he arrived in Gujrāt, he collected all the Barāos (or Parwāris), and wanted to rise in rebellion; but the Amīrs, who were with him, seized and imprisoned him, and sent him to Sultān Ḳutbuddīn. The latter, however, in order to please Khusru Khān, who was his brother, released him at once; and honoured him with royal favours. This became another reason for the estrangement and fear of the Amīrs, and of the great officers of state. Malik Wahīduddīn Ḳureishī, who was noted for his bravery and ability, was, however, sent to Gujrāt in place of Hisāmuddīn; and he introduced rule and order into the province, which had been left in a condition of disorder and ruin all by the latter. Intelligence arrived at this time, that Malik Yaklakhi, the governor of Deogir, had raised the standard of hostility; and had risen in revolt. The Sultān sent a number of great Amīrs, with a large army, for the destruction of Yaklakhi, and the suppression of the rebellion. They went, and by their able tactics they seized Malik Yaklakhi, and the other insurgents, who had been the cause of the disturbance, and brought them to Dehli. The Sultān ordered the nose and the ears of Malik Yaklakhi to be cut off and inflicted various punishments on his companions. Malik 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multānī was then appointed to rule the province of Deogir, and Malik Tājuddīn, the son of Khwājah 'Alāuddīn, the secretary, was appointed to be his assistant, and they were sent to that province. Malik Wahīduddīn was then summoned from Gujrāt; and the post of Vazīr and the title of Tāj-ul-Mulk were conferred on him.

When Khusru Khān who was nominated for Ma'bar arrived there he found that the Rāys of the province had fled with all their treasures and valuables. He seized a hundred and odd elephants which they had to leave behind. There was a merchant

¹ A brother by the mother's side probably meant an uterine brother. In Elliot iii, p. 218, he is however said to have been the maternal uncle of Khusru Khān, but it appears from a note that he is described in the original as برادر مادر and elsewhere as برادر of Khusru Khān.

of the name of Khwājah Taki, who had much wealth, and who had not fled under the belief that, as it was a Musalmān army that was coming, he would not be injured in any way. He was however seized, and all his property was taken from him, and he was then killed. Khusru Khān spent the rainy season there, and owing to the baseness and recklessness, which were ingrained in his nature, the thought of rebellion entered his head, and he determined to kill the Amīrs who were with him, and set up an independent authority in Ma'bar. Malik Tamar, the governor of Chanderi, Malik Mal Afghān and Malik Talbaghah Yaghdah, who were the chief Amīrs, who had been deputed to Ma'bar, became aware of Khusru Khān's designs; and started for Delhi without giving any intimation to him. He, however, became frightened at the threatening language of the Amīrs, and started for Delhi and travelled by forced marches. The Amīrs named before put him in a pālki and sent him in seven days from Deogir to Delhi.¹ They fondly imagined that as they had shown so much anxiety for his welfare, they would receive many favours from the Sultān; but when Khusru Khān reached the royal threshold, and obtained a private audience, he made various complaints against them; and said "they have accused me of creating disturbances, and raising a rebellion, and are determined to procure my death; but as God has willed otherwise, I have escaped from their clutches, by various subterfuges." The Sultān who loved him, and was mad about him, took his lies to be truths, and was annoyed with the Amīrs; and when they arrived in Delhi, although they described Khusru Khān's nefarious designs, and produced witnesses to support their representations, it was all of no avail. The Sultān acted like a tyrant,

¹ The conduct of the Amīrs as described here was illogical. They are said to have started for Delhi (apparently to bring Khusru Khān's designs to the notice of the Sultān), and yet they sent him on ahead to tell his own story. Zira Burni gives a different and more probable version. According to him, the other Amīrs induced or forced Khusru Khān to return to Delhi, so that he might not go on hatching his plots. The Sultān was, however, so infatuated with his favourite, and was so anxious to see him, that he sent relays of bearers with a litter, and the minion was taken from Deogir to Delhi, in seven or eight days. Once in Delhi he, of course, had every thing his own way. (Elliot iii. 219-20.)

rejected all their representations, and directed that Malik Tamar should not be allowed to make his obeisance; and taking away the government of Chanderi from him, made it over to his son.¹ He also ordered that Malik Talbaghah Yaghдах should be struck on the mouth; and his fief was taken away from him and he was imprisoned. The witnesses were also punished. When the other Amīrs saw these high-handed proceedings of the Sultān, they became deaf and dumb, and although they were aware of Khusru Khān's deceit and treachery, they shut their eyes, and never breathed a word; but on the other hand, owing to their utter helplessness, they threw themselves under his protection.

Couplets.

When Fate all power to the wicked and sinful gave,
It ruined alas! the treasures of the earth;
The thrones of the mighty to the base did yield,
Behold alas! what fruit at last it bore.

When Khusru Khān saw his enemies beaten and crushed, and knew that none of them would dare to speak ill of him to the Sultān, he girded up his loins, even more strongly than before, to proceed in the path of deceit and treachery; and determined to make an effort for the crown. One day he spoke thus in private to the Sultān, "When your majesty, owing to your great kindness to me, sends me at the head of your armies to distant provinces, to conquer them, the Amīrs who are sent with me have larger followings of their own tribe and clan with them (than I have), I am therefore compelled to submit to them. There are many Barāos of my clan and tribe in Gujrat. If your majesty permits it, I can also collect them, and can thus become a person of position." The Sultān acceded to his request, and granted him permission to send for the men of his own tribe. Khusru Khān, then, in a very short time, collected a large body of Barāos; and his power and grandeur were increased; and he became even more diligent than

¹ According to Zia Barni, the fief of Chanderi was not conferred on Malik Tamar's son, but on the Parwārī boy, i.e. apparently on Khusru Khān himself. Malik Talbaghah Yaghдах was, according to the same authority, deprived of sight, as well beaten on the mouth, etc. (see Elliot iii, 220).

before in his efforts for accomplishing his designs. He made Bahā-uddīn,¹ the secretary of the Sultān, whom the latter had dismissed and driven out, a friend and confederate; and associated with him other turbulent men, like the son of Kūrah-i-Kīmār and Yusuf Sūfi, and other similar men; and waited for an opportunity. At this time, the Sultān went on a hunting expedition in the direction of Sarsāwah. Khusru Khān and the Barāos wanted to assassinate the Sultān there. The son of Kūrah-i-Kīmār and Yusuf Sūfi forbade this, and said, "Let us suppose that we succeed in killing the Sultān while he is out hunting; it is quite likely that the troops with him would attack and slay us. It is best that, when the Sultān will be on the terrace of the Hazār-satūn, where it is always possible to find him alone, we will come upon him suddenly, and slay him; and summoning the Amīra from their houses, keep them as hostages. If they submit to us so much the better, otherwise we can slay them also."

When the Sultān returned from the hunting expedition, he again occupied himself, according to his usual custom, with drink and dissipation.

Couplets.

With joyful heart he thence returned;
From hill and wood to the feast returned,
Oblivious of malicious fate,
And what it had in store for him.

Khusru Khān having become more eager for the attainment of his object, said to the Sultān one night when they were alone together: "I am always in attendance on your majesty, and I pass many nights in the Tiskhānah. Some of my relations have come from Gujrat in hopes of a share of your majesty's kindness. They come to see me; but the palace gate-keepers refuse to admit them. If your majesty so order, they may be permitted to come into the palace." Then the Sultān ordered that the keys of the palace gates should be made over to Khusru Khān. The king said to him: "Who is there whom I trust more than I trust you and your brothers? In

¹ According to the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī*, the Sultān had quarrelled with this man about a woman.

reality the superintendence of the entire palace is in your hands." Khusru Khān took the delivery of the keys to him, as an auspicious omen, and as the happiest thing that could have happened; and saw all his plans crowned with success.

Couplets.

When Firoz saw this state of things,
That omen as proof of victory took;
His heart, in that auspicious sign,
Although so strong, new strength did find.

In short, when the gate and indeed the whole palace came under the charge of the Barāos, that reckless and blood-thirsty body came, in large numbers with arms and weapons, and congregated day and night in the lower apartments occupied by Khusru Khān, and waited for the most suitable moment. Gradually Khusru Khān's designs became patent to all; but every one knew also, that he was completely the master of the situation; while they were totally helpless. No one dared to utter a word. One day Kāzī Zainuddīn, who bore the title of Kāzī Khān, and was a man of much erudition, as well as of action, and who had been the Sultān's tutor in penmanship, made up his mind, if necessary, to sacrifice his own life; and preferring the welfare of the country and of the people, to his own good, thus addressed the Sultān:—

Couplets.

"Oh mighty king! may wisdom ever guide thy path,
May victory be thy friend; and thy foes be worsted all!
May the Lord of the earth, the asylum of created things,
Protect and save thee! oh conqueror of the world.

We who have been brought up under your majesty and your majesty's father, and see the safety of the people in your majesty's well-being, if we should omit or neglect to tell you the truth, we should wrong ourselves, and God's creatures, as well as your majesty." Then he described the preposterous ambition, and the nefarious design of Khusru Khān, the multitude of the Barāos and their meeting every night in Khusru Khān's apartments, and said, "It behoves your majesty to enquire into this matter; for if it is true,

then it is your majesty's duty to protect yourself ; while if it is false, you can repose still greater confidence in Khusru Khān and his brothers." Although the Kāzī spoke such words, it was of no avail, and produced no good. On the other hand, the Sultān gave a harsh reply, and spoke hard words to him. And in the end, he saw what he saw.

Couplets.

The counsel of the wise should none neglect,
Such counsel one in leaves should not fold up,¹
For, when time brings all things to its own test,
Then will that counsel to your mind come back

After a time when Khusru Khān returned, to attend on the Sultān, the latter repeated to him all that he had heard from the Kāzī. That arch-hypocrite at once made a great show of shedding tears ; and said : " Since your majesty shows me much favour and kindness, the high officers of the court are all consumed with jealousy, and are trying to destroy me. They will presently trump up a serious accusation against me, will prove it to your majesty's satisfaction, and will have me done to death." After this he wept piteously, and exclaimed : " Alas ! I already see myself among the slain ! " The tears of that dissembler affected the heart of the Sultān ; he was unable to control himself ; took him in his arms ; wept in sympathy with him ; gave him a few kisses on his lips and cheeks ; and said : " If the whole world should unite and speak ill of thee, I will not lend my ears to what they will say ; for love for thee has made me independent of the world ; and without thee, the world is as nothing in my eyes."

Couplet.

" My love for thee will never leave this head, oh friend !
This head may go, but thy love will never leave this head ! "

When a part of the night had passed, and the Amīrs, who were not required to be on duty, had left the palace ; and Kāzī Zainuddīn, whose duty it was always to guard it, had come down from the terrace of the Hazār Satun, and was engaged in examining the

¹ The meaning of this line, in the original, is obscure.

different gates, and the sentries; and no one was left in attendance on the Sultān except Khusru Khān, a number of Barāos entered the palace with daggers concealed under their arms. Randhol the uncle of Khusru Khān went up to Ḳāzī Zainuddīn, engaged him in conversation, and gave him a *birah* of betel-leaf. The hand of death made the Ḳāzī careless, when, a Barāos of the name of Jahariā, who was determined to assassinate him, came to his side and wounded him with his dagger. The Ḳāzī called out and could only utter these words, "Their treachery has been discovered." The people made an outcry. When the Sultān heard the noise, he said to Khusru Khān, "What noise is this?" Khusru Khān went out; and returning said, "The horses in the stables have got loose, and are fighting among themselves." At this time Jahariā, who was the uncle of Khusru Khān, came to the palace (apparently the apartments occupied by the Sultān) of the Hazār Satun, after slaying Ibrāhim and Is-hāk who were specially entrusted with the duty of guarding it. The Sultān became cognizant of the state of things at last, jumped up and ran towards the *haram*. Khusru Khān ran after him and caught him by the hair, and the two struggled with each other, and the Sultān threw him down, and sat on his chest. At this time Jahariā came up: inflicted a wound on the Sultān's side with his blood-thirsty dagger; threw him down on the ground; cut off the poor man's head; and flung it down from the terrace.

Couplets.

That traitorous alligator, like a raging beast
 Attacked that hero of a stature high,
 It gave him such a wound upon his side
 That the earth incarnadined was, like a tulip bed.¹

¹ The following passage occurs here, in MS. A, but not in MSS. B and C; or in the lithographed edition: "It is mentioned in the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* that when Sultān Ḳutbuddīn became aware of the deceit and treachery of Khusru Khān, of which he had not been aware till now, he hastened at once towards his *haram sarāi*, and the perfidious Khusru Khān ran up to him and caught him by the hair of his head, and the Sultān turning round, throw him down under himself, as usual. At this time Jahariā came up, and Khusru Khān called out, Come and help me, and Jahariā struck the Sultān on the side with his sword, and having killed him flung down his head."

When the people saw the Sultān's head every one went to a corner (i.e. kept aloof) and the noise ceased. A large number of men who were present in the palace were massacred that night. When the Barāos had finished with the Sultān, Randhol and Jahariā with a few others went into the *haram*, and brutally dragged away Princes Farid Khān and Mangu Khān, who were sons of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, from their mothers, and slew them. There was great tumult in the *haram*, and the Barāos stretched out their arms for plunder and seized whatever they could lay hands upon.

Couplet.

Thus passed away that imperial throne, and that great power !
Time did it all destroy, and raze it to the ground !

After a time, when they had finished the massacre of the princes, they kept Malik 'Ain-ul Mulk Multānī, Malik Wahiduddīn Ḳuraishī, Malik Fakhruddīn Jūnā, who afterwards became known as Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh, and the sons of Ḳirān Beg, and other great Amīrs, whom they had summoned that night, under a guard, on the terrace of the Hazār Satun, and by the morning a large number of Barāos and other associates of Khusrū Khān collected round them. When the morning dawned, [Khusrū Khān] sent for the great officers and the learned men of the city, and had the Khutbah read in his own name. He ascended the throne and assumed the title of Sultān Nāsiruddīn. He then, by means of various tricks and subterfuges, got into his power some of the celebrated Amīrs, of whose hostility he was afraid, and ordered them to be put to death. He made over the family, and property, of the murdered Ḳāzī Ziauddīn to Randhol, but the wife of the Ḳāzī saved herself by flight. He conferred the title of Khān-i-Khānān on his own brother Hisamuddīn, that of Rāy-i-Rāyān on Rāndhol, and that of 'Āzām-ul-Mulk on the son of Ḳurah-i-Ḳimār.¹ Among the Amīrs of Sultān Ḳutbuddīn, he conferred the title of 'Ālām Khān

¹ His name according to the *Tarikh-i-Firozshāhī* was Bahauddīn, and he seems therefore to be identical with the dismissed *dabīr* or secretary of Sultān Ḳutbuddīn. According to the same authority 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multānī on whom the title of 'Ālām Khān was conferred, had no connection with the usurper. The title was given to him to keep up a delusive show (see Elliot iii, 224).

or 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multānī, and having entrusted the office of Vazir to Malik Tājul-Mulk Wahīduddīn Ḳuraishī, he confirmed his sons in their high offices. He had Jahariā the murderer of Sultān Ḳutbuddīn dressed in pearls and gems and raised him in rank by granting him various favours. He distributed the wives of Sultān Ḳutbuddīn among the Barāos ; and himself took his [principal] wife.¹

Couplets.

Oh earth ! if blessings thou dost want, bear not ;
If they go wrong, what good for thee to bear.
Whose secret power is strongest, I know it now.
And on thy open deed I must ever weep.²

As most of the Barāos were Hindus, the Musalman religion was overthrown, and the manners and customs of the Hindus acquired currency and renown. Idolatry and the destruction of mosques became common. Khusru Khān squandered much money in order to gain the hearts of the people, and spent the money in most of the treasuries in gifts and presents. As Ghāzī Malik was one of the grandees of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, and had hosts of retainers, and was the chieftain of a tribe, and held the fief of Dibālpur ; and Malik Fakhruddīn Jūnā, his son, was adorned with bravery, liberality, and generosity and was one of the 'Alāī Amīrs, Khusru Khān considered it his most important duty to bring these over to his side ; and was always thinking what he could do to bring this about. He accordingly conferred the post of master of the horse on Mālik Fakhruddīn Jūnā and endeavoured in every way to please him ; and he also asked Ghāzī Malik to come to Delhi. The latter, brave and God-fearing man of worth as he was, was fired with hatred ; and girded himself with the girdle of energy, to avenge the blood of the sons of his patron ; and sent letters and messages to the Amīrs of the neighbouring districts, and exerted himself to destroy the ungrateful

¹ The two words which have been translated wives and [principal] wife are زنان and زوجه. The former may mean the ladies of the royal family generally. The principal wife appears to have been Deval Debi, the Hindu princess, who had successively been the wife of Khizir Khān and Sultān Ḳutbuddīn.

² The meaning of these lines is not at all clear.

wretch. At this time Malik Fakhruddīn Jūnā escaped one night from Delhi, and, by rapid marches, took the way to Dibālpur. Khusru Khān woke up from his sleep of carelessness; and grieved at this sign of the approach of the downfall of his greatness. He despatched the son of Ḳurah-i-Ḳīmar, who was the muster-master of the kingdom, with other noted Amīrs in pursuit of Malik Fakhruddīn Jūnā. They pursued him as far as the town of Sarsuti and then returned. Ghāzi Malik had a few days before this left two hundred horsemen in the fortress of Sarsuti, and had repaired and strengthened it, in anticipation of such a day. Malik Fakhruddīn Jūnā took some of the horsemen with him, and arrived in Dibālpur. His father was delighted at his coming and ordered the drum of joy to be beaten; and having girded up his loins more strongly, to avenge [the wrongs of his patron's family] busied himself with equipping his army; and determined entirely to root out the Barāos.

Khusru Khān sent his brother whom he had named the Khān-i-Khānān, and on whom he now conferred a canopy and a Durbāsh, and Yusuf Sufi to whom he granted the title of Sufi Khān, with other men whom he trusted, and who were devoted to him, against Ghāzi Malik. At this juncture Malik Bahrām Abīh, who was the governor of Uchch and Multān, entered the service of Ghāzi Malik with a well-appointed army with the object of punishing the ungrateful wretches. When Khusru Khān's army came near, Ghāzi Malik also advanced to meet that despicable band, and after a conflict and battle, was crowned with success and victory. Khusru Khān's brother and Yusuf Khān barely escaped with their lives, by flight; and returned to Delhi; and the whole of the army and the paraphernalia of state fell into Ghāzi Malik's hands. The latter became emboldened, and filled with new hope, by this victory; and equipped his army (anew) for the destruction of that God-forsaken wretch; and advanced to Delhi. The ingrate Khusru Khān having done his utmost in collecting men by squandering money, came out of the city, and assembled his army in the plain near the 'Alāi reservoir; and made an advance of two years' and a half's pay to his men. At this time, 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multānī who was one of his great nobles fled towards Ujain and Dhār. This increased Khusru Khān's mortification, and added to his confusion. Then in the neighbourhood of Indarpath the bands of the righteous and of the

iniquitous met. Right prevailed over wrong, and Khusrū Khān was defeated. Malik Tallagha Nāgari and the son of Kurah-i-Kimār, who had received the title of Shūnta Khān, and who were the mainstays of the power of the wretched Khusrū Khān, were killed, and Khusrū Khān, having with great bravery and courage¹ fought to the end of the day, fled to Tilpat. His canopy, standard, and army fell into Ghāzi Mahk's hands. Khusrū Khān turned back from Tilpat in utter panic, perplexity and loneliness, and entering a garden of Mahk Shāh, who had been his first patron, concealed himself there. The next day he was brought before Ghāzi Mahk, and was executed.

Complete.

The tree that thou hadst reared, hath borne its fruit,
That fruit thou now dost see thy eye before
If it is but a thorn, thou that didst plant '
He dost sell, it is that thou didst grow '

The high and low of the city hastened to welcome Ghāzi Mahk and congratulated him; and offered him felicitations on his victory. The next day he rode from Inderpath to the Kiosk of Sirī, and sat with the grandees and the high officers of state in the Hazār Satm, and performed rites of mourning for Sultān Kutbuddin, and his sons, and wept, and made lamentations. After that he raised his voice and said, "I have been brought up under the beneficence of Sultān 'Alauddin, and Sultān Kutbuddin; and in gratitude for their benefactions, and not on account of any greed for rank or wealth, have I drawn my sword against their enemies, and have avenged their wrongs. Now you who are present in this assembly do you know of any offspring of theirs that may be still in existence. If so bring him forward, so that we may place him on the throne and we will all stand, with girded loins, before him, and render him service. If there is no descendant of theirs left, (select) any one whom you may deem to be fit to sit on the throne and to rule the kingdom; and I am ready to serve him." The great men who

¹ The *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāhī* gives a very different account of Khusrū Khān's behaviour. It says, "The effeminate wretch could not bear the attack of men. He fled, and, leaving his army, he took the road to Tilpat." Elliot iii. 127 8. That Nizam-ud-dīn Ahmed could give his just due to a man like Khusrū Khān shows what a judicial temper he had.

were in the assembly all said, "No sons of either of the two kings are now alive. Thou hast withstood the attacks of the Mughals since a long time, and hast made thyself the shield of all the people of Hindustan and hast established a great claim on them. Now that thou hast again done this great deed, and hast avenged thy benefactors on their enemies, this is a further claim that thou hast on the gratitude of the nobles, and commons of the land. There is no one fitter than thee for sovereignty and for supreme command." They said this, and taking Ghāzī Malik by the hand placed him on the throne, and gave him the title of Sultān Ghīāsuddīn Tuġhlak Shāh; and nobles and commons offered homage to him.

Couplets.

Th' auspicious king, th' destroyer of his foes,
That under omens good the throne did ascend;
With victory and with success adorned,
A joyance new did he in the world produce.

SULTĀN GHĪĀSUDDĪN TUĠHLAK SHĀH.

Sultān Ghīāsuddīn ascended the throne in the Green Kiosk in the year A.H. 720, and made proclamations of justice and beneficence. Disturbances which had been awakened fell asleep again; and a new glory appeared in the government of the land. In a week, he so arranged all affairs of state, as would not have been possible for others in the course of years.

May that auspicious tree bear richest fruit,
Under whose shade may one in comfort live;
Now with its fruit, it doth the table deck;
Now with its shade, it soothes the tired limbs.

Wherever he found any of the remaining members of the family and descendants of Sultān 'Alauddīn and Sultān Ḳutbuddīn, he gladdened their hearts with stipends and pensions. He punished those who had taken any part in bringing about the marriage of the widow of Sultān Ḳutbuddīn with Khusru Khān. He granted favours to the Amīrs and Maliks of Sultān Ḳutbuddīn, and increased their salaries; and confirmed their fiefs; and distributed the high offices of the empire among them. He treated Khwājah Khatīr, and

Malik Anwar Juneidi, and Khwājah Muhazzab Buzurg, who had always possessed the confidence of former Bādshāhs, with great consideration; and granted them permission to sit in his assemblies, and consulted them about the laws and rules which previous Sultāns had framed for securing the stability of their empires, and for regulating the affairs of the people; and he acted in accordance with such laws and rules. He abstained from all acts which might cause injury and trouble to the people. He promoted to high rank any one in whom he found any trace of loyalty and devotion, and very soon distinguished with his royal favours any one who performed any worthy service. In matters of government he acted with moderation, and refrained from all kinds of excesses.

He granted to Sultān Muhammad, whose countenance was marked with the signs of greatness, the title of Ulugh Khān, conferred a canopy on him, and declared him to be the heir to the throne. Among the other princes he conferred the title of Bahrām Khān on one, of Zafar Khān on the second, of Mahmūd Khān on the third, and of Nasrat Khān on the fourth. He granted the title of Kashlu Khān on Bahrām Abīh whom he called his brother, and entrusted him with the fief of Multān and the whole country of Sind. He made his nephew (brother's son) Malik Asaduddīn, the Bārbak, and Bahāuddīn, the son of his sister, the Ariz-i-Mumalik, and confirmed the fief of Sāmānah on him. He entrusted the direction of the office of the Vazārat on Malik Shādī, who was his brother and son-in-law. He granted the title of Tātār Khān, and the fief of Zafarābād, to one whom he had called his son. The office of the Vazīr of Deogīr he conferred on Malik Burhānuddīn the father of Qutluḡ Khān, and that of chief judge on Kāzi Sadruddīn. The office of the Kāzi of Delhi was entrusted to Kāzi Samāuddīn. The deputy muster mastership of Gujrāt was granted to Malik Tājuddīn Ja'far. The other appointments were also distributed according to the qualifications of the various claimants. No office was conferred on any one, until the Sultān had first ascertained his qualifications for it. He did not leave able men without employment.

In fixing the revenue of the various territories, he acted with moderation; and did not listen to the words of those who made high offers. If any one forcibly realized from his Jagīr more than was fixed, the Sultan objected to, and cancelled, the transaction. If

any one deducted any amount from the revenue payable by him, on account of payments to his retainers, and the amount did not reach the latter, he was punished, and the amount was recovered from him. The Sultan resumed the sums which *Khusru Khān* had bestowed on various persons, in his time of distress and perplexity, and caused it to be paid into the Treasury. Any one who delayed in the payment of these amounts suffered from his anger and severity. On many occasions, he sent for the notables and common people and conferred rewards on every one of them, according to their positions and their just claims. Whenever a letter announcing a victory came from any part of his dominions or the nuptials of any of the princes took place, or a child was born in his family, he gave rewards to all the Judges, and the high officers, and the learned men, and Shaikhs, and nobles, according to their circumstances. He kept himself acquainted with the conditions of those who lived in retirement, and showed kindness to them; and whenever he heard that any one in the kingdom was in poverty and distress, he busied himself in removing it.

Couplets.

When fortune with that king was joined,
 She laughed and blossomed like the rose.
 He opened the door of his treasury;
 His soldiers were with gold and gems enriched.

He sent once every month for his children, and dependants, and officers, and ministers, and enquired about them, and if he found that any of them was in distress or want, he remedied it. He adopted the methods introduced by Sultan 'Alauddīn, in respect of the descriptive rolls of the troopers, and the branding of horses; and the prices and examination of the latter and of the maintenance of retainers. Out of the amount which the soldiers had received from *Khusru Khān*, he granted a year's pay to them, and the balance was entered in the register of advances against their names, and orders were passed that this sum was to be gradually recovered from their salaries for future years. He resumed the stipends, allowances and endowments which Sultān Kutbuddīn had improperly granted through his carelessness and infatuation; and granted them to really deserving persons. The

equity and justice of Sultān Tuġhlak Shāh produced an equality among the people, and even the names of turbulence and disaffection disappeared. He shut the doors against the incursions of the Mughals in such a way that during the whole of his reign they never felt any hankering for the invasion of Hindustān. He had a great desire for the erection of splendid buildings. He ordered the foundation of the fort of Tuġhlakābād and of other edifices. He was a virtuous man and possessed charming attributes, and he strictly complied with all the directions and prohibitions of religion; and spent much of his time in devotion. He kept up at nights, and persevered in supererogatory devotion. He had no hankering for intoxicants, and was emphatic in prohibiting the use of wine. His behaviour towards his domestics, slaves, old servants, and dependants was in no way different, during the period of his sovereignty, from what it had been at the time when he was a simple Malik.

In the year 721 a.n., he sent Sultān Muhammad, who had the title of Ulugh Khān, with some of his own old officers, and all the renowned nobles, to Arangal. The latter departed in that direction with a vast army, and with great pomp and grandeur. When he reached Deogarh, he took the nobles who were there with him, and marched rapidly till he arrived in the country of Tilang and ravaged and plundered it. Rai Rudar Deo and the other Rajs of the neighbourhood shut themselves up in the fort of Arangal. Ulugh Khān began to erect battering-rams, and to run mines, round it. Every day many people were killed in both sides. At last when the army of Ulugh Khān made a determined attack and the fall of the citadel became imminent, Rai Rudar Deo sent ambassadors to Sultān Muhammad (i.e. Ulugh Khān); and offered him riches, and elephants and precious gems; and also promised that he would send the same tribute, in future years, that he used to send to Sultān 'Alāuddīn. Ulugh Khān did not accept these terms, and made such vigorous exertions for the capture of the citadel, that it was on the point of being taken [when the following events happened] It had been arranged that messengers should come from Dehli, twice a week, by *dak chowki*, and should bring intelligence of everything being safe. It happened however that for a whole month no intelligence came. Owing to the roads being unsafe,

the *dak chowki* had become disorganized. 'Ubaid the poet and the Shaikh-Zāda-i-Damshkī who were the source of all mischief and trouble, but who had gained access to Ulugh Khān, spread a false report of the death of Sultān Ghīāsuddīn Tuġhlak Shāh, in Dehli; and of an usurper having seized the thrones. Owing to this rumour great confusion found its way among the soldiers. 'Ubaid the poet and the Shaikh-Zāda-i-Damashkī held a secret meeting with Malik Tamar, Malik Tigīn, Malik Mal Afghān, and Malik Kāfur, the keeper of the seal, and told them that as Ulugh Khān considered them to be among the great Maliks of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, and as such as entitled to a share of the empire, he had determined that he would have them all seized and executed. They were alarmed on hearing this; and a great panic fell on the soldiers. Each one did what came into his head and fled. Ulugh Khān started in great perplexity for Deogīr, with some of his special retainers. The men in the citadel came out, plundered the rear of the army, and slew a large number of the soldiers.

In the meantime, the *dak chowki*, which in the language of the people was called *ālāgh*, was reorganized, and messengers came from Dehli with the intelligence that Sultān Ghīāsuddīn Tuġhlak Shāh was seated on the throne of Dehli, in health and safety. Ulugh Khān, on reaching Deogīr, reassembled his dispersed forces. The four nobles who had deserted together from the army, separated from one another, and their retinues and servants were slain; and their arms and accoutrements fell into the hands of the zamindārs. Malik Tamar with a few men went among the zamindārs, and there perished. The Hindus slew Malik Tigīn, the Governor of Audh, and sent his skin to Ulugh Khān. They also seized Malik Mal Afghān, 'Ubaid the poet, and the other man who had created the disturbance, and sent them to Ulugh Khān in Deogīr; and the latter sent them to his father in Dehli. The members of their families and their dependants had already been seized in Dehli. Sultān Ghīāsuddīn sat in state, in public, in the plain of Sirī; and ordered that 'Ubaid the poet, and the other turbulent men, should be impaled alive, and that the members of their families and their dependants should be thrown under the feet of elephants. Ulugh Khān arrived in Dehli after this; and was made happy by his father conferring many favours on him.

After four months, Sultān Ghīāsuddīn again sent Ulugh Khān to Arangal with a grand retinue and an immense army. This time Ulugh Khān advanced into the Tilang country and seized the fort of Bidar, as well as the commandant of the garrison. He then advanced to Arangal, besieged it, and in a short time captured the outer as well as the inner fort. He seized the Rays of the country with their families and retainers, and obtained possession of their elephants, goods, and treasures. He sent a letter announcing the victory, and that letter was read from the pulpits in Dehli, Siri and Tughlakābad. The people erected domes and made rejoicings. Rai Rudar Deo was sent to Dehli with his elephants and treasures under the escort of Malik Bidār who had the title of Kadr Khān and Khwājah Hāji, the Deputy Muster-master of the Empire. The name of Arangal was changed to Sultānpar; and the whole country of Tilang was brought under control, and governors and other officers were appointed. Ulugh Khān then realized a year's tribute; and went to the country of Jajingar. He captured forty elephants there, and sent them for the service of the Sultān.

After Arangal and the country round it had been subjugated, and Sultān Ghīāsuddīn had become successful in all directions, some of his well-wishers¹ made representations to him of the tyranny, and oppression, and misbehavior of the rulers of Bangūlah; and incited and induced the Sultān to invade Lakhnauti. The Sultān having resolved upon the invasion sent for Ulugh Khān from Arangal, and leaving him as Regent, at Dehli, marched with an immense army, and great pomp and eclat, toward Lakhnauti. As the fame of Sultān Tughlak Shāh's courage and bravery had spread all over the country, as soon as his great shadow was cast on the country of Tirhut, Sultān Nāsiruddīn, the ruler of Lakhnauti, and other Rays and Zamindārs, who ruled in that country, came forward to meet him, and offered him homage. The Sultān sent Tātār Khān, whom he had honoured with the name of son, and who had been entrusted with the government of Zafarābād, with a large army, in advance. The latter brought the whole of the country under subjection. He brought Sultān Bahādur Shāh, the ruler of Sunārgām, who had

¹ According to the *Tārīkh-i-Feroz Shāhī* these men were certain noblemen who came from Lakhnauti itself (see Elliot iii, p. 234).

offered some resistance, with a chain round his neck; and he sent all the elephants which had been taken in the course of the expedition into the Sultān's elephant stables. An immense quantity of other booty was acquired. The Sultān conferred a canopy and a *durbash* on Sultān Nāsiruddīn, the ruler of Lakhnauti, who had sworn allegiance to him, and sent him again to Lakhnauti. Sunār-gām was absorbed into the empire. The letter announcing the conquest of Lakhnauti was read in Dehli, and domes were erected and rejoicings made. The Sultān, crowned with victory and renown, returned towards Dehli, and leaving the army behind marched rapidly, converting two stages into one.

When Ulugh Khān heard that his father was coming back by rapid marches he ordered that a pavilion should be erected near Afghānpur, which is three karohs from Tughlakābād, in the course of three days. So that when the Sultān arrived there, he might halt and pass the night in it, and the citizens might come there to welcome him, and render him service. Then when the morning would break, he would start for the capital, at an auspicious moment, with imperial pomp and grandeur. When the Sultān arrived in the pavilion, there were rejoicings in Tughlakābād, and triumphal domes were erected. Ulugh Khān accompanied by the Maliks and Amīrs and the great men of the city went out to meet him; and were honoured with the permission to do him homage. The Sultān entered the pavilion, with the people who had come out to meet him; and a table was spread. When the food had been taken away and the men thought that the Sultān would mount at once, they came out without washing their hands. The Sultān remained there, to wash his hands. At this moment the roof of the pavilion fell in, and the Sultān fell under it, and was united with the Divine mercy. His reign extended to a period of four years and a few months.

It has been stated in some histories, that as the pavilion had been newly erected, and had not set properly, and the elephants which Sultān Tughlak Shāh had brought with him, from Bangālah, were driven round it, the ground subsided and the roof fell in. It cannot however remain hidden from the minds of the intelligent, that the erection of the pavilion, for which there was no necessity whatever, creates a suspicion that Ulugh Khān encompassed his father's death. It is evident that the author of the "Tārīkh-i-Fīroz

Shāhī,” which was written in the reign of Sultān Fīroz, who had great regard for Sultān Muhammad, was reticent about the matter, out of regard for the reigning monarch. The humble writer has heard this repeatedly from trustworthy persons, and it is well known, that as Sultān Tuḡhlak was displeased with his reverence Shaikh Nizām-uddīn Auliā, he sent a message to the latter, telling him to leave Dehli, by the time he would himself arrive there; and the Shaikh said, “Dehli is far off yet.” These words have become proverbial among the people of Hindustan. It is also well known, that Sultān Muhammad had great faith in, and unbounded respect for, the Shaikh. But knowledge is in God! The same year Shaikh Nizām-uddīn—may his grave be holy!—and Amīr Khusru departed from this troublous bodily existence to the world of spirits.

✓ SULTĀN MUHAMMAD TUḠHLAK SHĀH.

He was the son and heir of Sultān Ghiasuddīn Tuḡhlak. After his father's death, he ascended the throne at Tuḡhlakābād. He remained at that place for a period of forty days, to arrange all matters connected with the government of the empire; and for the selection of an auspicious moment. After that he sat on the throne of the ancient kings in the old palace, according to the usual custom; and assumed the title of Muhammad Shāh. They sounded the drum of joy in the city, and erected domes; and adorned the markets, and the lanes. At the time when he entered the capital, such large quantities of gold and silver tangāhs were scattered over his canopy, as had never been done in any other age. Sultān Muhammad was one of the wonders of the creation; an embodiment of contradictory qualities. At one time he wanted to conquer the seven climes like Alexander; at another he exerted his energy to bring *jins* as well as men within the circle of his rule; and again he felt a longing to combine earthly with spiritual rule; so that he might in his own person pass both temporal and spiritual decrees. He was very strict in the observance of fasts and prayers; and in the performance of acts of supererogatory devotion, and of piety; and in giving stipends and alms. He completely refrained from all prohibited things, and intoxicants; and from everything else to which the name of sin might be applied. (On the other hand) he was

so severe in his punishments, and in unjustly shedding blood, and in troubling and tormenting the creatures of God, that he appeared to be bent upon emptying the world of all human beings. At the same time, he had so much ingrained liberality that at the time when he bestowed alms, and gave away lavishly to the poor, he emptied treasuries in the twinkling of an eye. The rich and the poor, the friend and the stranger, appeared to be the same before the eye of his generosity. When he sent back Sultān Bahādur of Sunārgām, after restoring his kingdom to him, he gave him at once as a reward all that he had in his treasury. He gave, every year, a hundred lakhs of tangahs to Malik Ghaznī, and he also gave so much to the Kāzi of Ghaznī, as would not enter any one's conception. He gave to Malik Sanjar Badakhshānī eighty lakhs tangahs, to Malik 'Imāduddīn seventy lakhs, to Sayyad Azād forty lakhs, and in the same ways his gifts were never less than so many lakhs. It should be noted that the tangāhs here referred to are tangāhs of silver, with a little alloy of copper, and were each of them equal to eight black tangāhs. Whenever any man of learning, or of skill, came to his court, he conferred many favours and various rewards on him. Whoever came to his court, as a suppliant, from Khurāsān, or 'Irak, or Māwar-un-Nahr, or other parts of the world, received such large rewards, and so many favours, that he was always, from that time forward, safe from penury and want. He had no equal in prescribing rules of government, and in the greatness of his wisdom. He had such correct discernment and such sharp penetration, that he could, merely by a glance, discover the virtues and the vices of any man. He could discover what was in the mind of any one, even before the latter began to speak. His name became proverbial for eloquence of speech, and beauty of diction, for a fine literary style, and for ingenious treatment of subjects. He wrote elegant prose and verse. He excelled in knowledge of history; and had great skill in metaphysics, and logic. 'Ubad the astronomer, 'Ubaid the poet, and Moulana 'Ilmuddīn, who were learned in philosophy, but had no concern with the law of the prophet, were always in attendance on him; and from their companionship, and from constant exercise in ratiocinative learning, he had acquired an impression that truth was confined only in the latter. As regards traditional learning, he accepted only what conformed with ratiocinative

learning. He refused to accept anything which was based on tradition alone. Yet he had so much faith in, and such subservience for, the Abbasi Caliph, that he considered it absolutely unlawful to begin any work of government without obtaining his permission. He showed the very greatest deference and respect to his ambassadors, and used to go out on foot to meet the latter.

He exerted himself so much in the conquest of new provinces, and in the administration of his dominions, that Gujrāt and Mālwah, and Deogir and Tilang, and Kampila and Dhor Samund, and M'ābar and Tirhut, and Lakhnauti and Satgām, and Sonārgām were completely subjugated within a short period; and the revenue, and the abstracts of the receipts, and the disbursements of all these provinces arrived in Dehli, just like those of the towns in the Doāb; and the authority of the governors and other officers was so firmly and completely established, that not one of the headmen, or other turbulent persons, in those places, could either by way of concealment or by way of obduracy keep back a *diram* out of the imperial revenues. All the Rays and the Zamindārs of the empire always stood at his door, with girded loins, to do his behests. So much riches came from all parts of the empire, that in spite of the Sultān's excessive lavishness and his large gifts, there was never any deficiency in the treasury.

Couplets.

The ruler of the world, out of these gems and gold,
Lavished much riches, and much gems to one and all;
To those who stood to worship at his door, he gave;
To those of highest rank, also to those in need.
No one could gain a path into that treasure-house.
He from his generosity his guerdon got.

As he had the faculty of invention highly developed, he wanted to inaugurate new rules made by himself, and to abrogate rules established by former kings with much wise thought. Every day he passed a fresh order and introduced a new rule, and issued decrees addressed to the governors and officers in the various portions of his dominions with injunctions to carry them into effect. As his orders were contrary to the directions of the ancient Sultāns, and also to the dictates of wisdom, they excited universal hatred; and the

officers were unable to enforce them. For if taking heed of the hatred of the people, they made any delay, or showed any hesitation in carrying them out, they made themselves liable to various pains and penalties; and on the other hand, if they enforced them, the common people were destroyed; and the greatest dangers found their way into the empire. In a word, he prescribed certain rules, which will be mentioned in detail later on, which ruined his subjects. Those who were poor were utterly ruined and decimated, and those who had some strength became refractory and rebellious. As Sultān Mḡhammad had an evil disposition, and was stern and severe, and the slaying of human beings had become a part of his nature, he did not hesitate or delay to punish and to kill. As his orders were not carried into effect, he put whole populations to the sword, and denuded extensive tracts of God's creatures. Things soon came to such a pass, that many of the provinces, which had been in his possession, passed out of it; and in fact even in Dehli, which was his capital, insurrection and rebellion made their appearance. The inflow of revenue from the various districts was cut off and the treasuries became empty. Zainuddīn, the Mukhlis-ul-Mulk, Usuf Bughra, Abu Rajā and the son of the Kāzi of Gujrāt were the Sultān's confederates in these proceedings. They exerted themselves in the seizure and destruction of God's creatures.

Among his absurd projects and ill-advised proceedings was this, that he determined to increase the rents of all the land in the Doab by ten per cent; and for this purpose created some ābwābs (cesses). This became the cause of the destruction of many people, and produced contumacy in some of the rayyats, and cultivation was suspended. A drought also took place at this time, and there was severe famine in Dehli; so that many houses became depopulated and whole sections of the people were ruined. There was consequently great confusion in the affairs of the empire. Another of his projects was this, that he intended to make Deogīr, which he considered to be in the centre of his dominions, and which he had named Doulatābād, his capital. Owing to this he depopulated Dehli which had become the object of the envy of Baghdād and Damascus; and directed the inhabitants, who were accustomed to its climate, to transport themselves with their families and children to Deogīr. He gave to each person the expenses of the journey,

and the price of his house, from the treasury. Vast sums were spent in this way. Most of the people who started, could not at all reach Deogir, and those who did so, would not remain there. The changes and vicissitudes, which found their way into the conditions of men, became the cause of great confusion in the affairs of the kingdom. Another of his projects was this, that he should bring the whole of that quarter of the globe which was inhabited, under his sway. As the number of his troops and his revenue were not sufficient for this, he designed to issue a copper coin, in order to accomplish his object; and ordered that copper should be coined in the mint like gold and silver. Small copper coins were accordingly passed into the currency like tangahs of gold and silver, and were used in buying and selling. The Hindus brought large quantities of copper to the mints, had them coined, and in this way they got together *lakhs* and *karors*, with which they bought goods and weapons. These they sent to distant places, and sold there for gold and silver tangahs. Every goldsmith began to coin money in his house, and bringing them to the markets, sold them there. After some time, this order fell into desuetude in distant places; and in these places people obtained the copper tangahs in exchange for uncoined copper, and took them to places, where the order was still in force, and exchanged them for tangahs of gold and silver. Gradually the copper tangahs became so numerous that they necessarily lost all value; and became worthless like pebbles and potsherds, and the gold and silver tangahs became dearer than before. Great confusion then crept into all transactions of buying and selling.

Couplet.

When gold as base as copper doth become,
They bring it from all sides at copper's price.

When Sultān Muhammad saw that his order had become a dead letter, and he could not go on punishing the people for disregarding it, he ordered that any one who had any copper tangahs might bring them into the treasury; and get in exchange for them, the current coin of the value, i.e. tangahs of gold and silver. He did so, in the hope that perhaps in this way the copper tangahs would rise in public estimation, and would become current in all transac-

lions cropped up everywhere. The first of these was that of Bahrām Abih, in Multān. When Sultān Muhammad heard of this revolt in Deogir, he came to Delhi with the greatest speed, and having equipped his army there, started for Multān. Bahrām came and opposed him; but in the battle which ensued, he lost his life.

Couplet.

If with thy benefactor, thou wilt fight ;
If high's the sky thou art, thou'lt headlong fall.

They brought his head to Sultān Muhammad; and the revolt subsided. The Sultān wanted to punish the people of Multān for having sided with Bahrām Abih. The Shaikh-ul-Islām, Shaikh Ruknuddīn-al-'Azīz, may his tomb be holy! interceded for the forgiveness of their offence; and the Sultān having accepted the intercession, returned triumphant and victorious to Delhi.

As the men from various places, who had been living under great difficulties in Deogir, dispersed; and Deogir remained ruined and desolate, the Sultān remained at Delhi, and did not go to Deogir. At this time the whole of the Doab was desolated owing to exorbitant exactions, and the high demand on account of revenue; so that many of the rayyats burnt down their granaries, and taking away their cattle, wandered away. The Sultān ordered, that such of them as might be caught, should be slain; and the country plundered. The governors and other officers in the country put the people to death, and pillaged the country. Those who escaped with their lives, went into the jungles and concealed themselves there.

Couplet.

In town and country, they one and all
Were helpless through his tyranny.

At this time the Sultān went to Baran to hunt, and he ordered the whole of that district to be pillaged and the inhabitants to be put to the sword. The heads of the slain were ordered to be suspended from the battlements of the citadel of Baran.

Another revolt was this. Fakhra, who was called Malik Fakhr-uddīn, rebelled in Bangālāh after the death of Bahrām Khān and

killed *Qadr Khān*; and having looted the treasury at *Lakhnaūti*, took possession of *Lakhnaūti*, *Sunārgām* and *Satgām*. At this time the Sultān was engaged in plundering the country round *Kanonj*. He ravaged the whole country from *Kanonj* to *Mauhamah*¹ and he put immense numbers to the sword. He had not yet withheld his hand from pillage and slaughter, when news arrived that *Hasan*, the father of *Ibrahim*, the *Kharītahdār* (bag or purse bearer) had raised a revolt in *Ma'bar*, and having killed the nobles there, had taken possession of the country. The Sultān came to the capital, and seizing *Ibrahim Kharītahdār* and the other relations of *Sayyad Hasan* put them in prison, and having equipped an army started in the direction of *Ma'bar*. When he arrived in *Deogīr* he made such exorbitant demands on the officers, nobles and peoples of the country, that most of them lost their lives on account of the difficulty of meeting them. He also made heavy assessments on the *Marhatta* country, and appointed strict and severe collectors. After that he sent *Ahmed Ayāz* to *Dehli*, and himself started towards *Tilang*. When he reached *Arangal* there was plague² raging there. Most people were suffering from it, and some of the renowned grandees died of it. Sultān Muhammad was also attacked. He left *Malik Kabūl*, the *Naib Vazīr*, in charge of the country, and returned towards *Deogīr*. When he arrived at the latter place, he placed himself under treatment for a few days. He conferred the title of *Nasrat Khān* on *Shihāb-i-Sultāni*, placed him in charge of *Bidar* and made over the fiefs in that territory, which were assessed at a hundred lakhs of *tangūhs*, to him. He made *Kutlagh Khān* the governor of *Deogīr* and the *Marhatta* country. He then returned towards *Dehli*, although he was still ill.

He had already passed an order, that such of the people of *Dehli* as were now resident in *Deogīr*, might return to *Dehli*, if they wished to do so; but if they preferred *Deogīr*, they might continue to reside there. Most of the people came to *Dehli* with the Sultān, but some preferred to remain in the *Marhatta* country. The Sultān continued at *Deogīr* for a few days longer, and then commenced his

¹ The name of the place is so given in the MSS. In the lith. ed., it is *Hamuhamah*. In Elliot (iii, 243) it is called *Dalamu*.

² *Wabā* in the original. It is translated cholera in Elliot iii, p. 243.

treasury. He ordered that cultivators should dig wells, and should devote themselves to the cultivation of their fields; but owing to their distress, and want of preparation, and also on account of the scarcity of rain, they were accused of neglect and default and were punished. At this time bands of Mundāhirs, and Chauhāns and Bahtians and Minahs, who lived in the territories of Sunām and Samāna, began to act turbulently, and building houses for themselves in the vast jungles, collected water and grain there, and deeming these to be strongholds for themselves, assembled there; and acting in a violent and refractory manner, withheld payment of revenue, and began to commit highway robberies. The Sultān marched troops to destroy them, and having demolished their fortifications, which in their language were called Mandals, dispersed them. He brought their leaders with him, assigned them places in the capital to live in, and included them in the ranks of the nobility. In this way he suppressed the disturbances which they had created in that country.

At this time Kanya Paik, who was in the vicinity of Arangal, rose in rebellion, in concert with the Zamindars of that country, and Malik Maḡbūl the naib fled and came to Dehli. Arangal came into the possession of the Hindus, and ceased to be included in the imperial dominions. At the same time, a relation of the Rajah of Kampilah, whom Sultān Muhammad had sent to that place, apostatized from Islām, and revolted; and Kampilah also passed out of the Sultān's dominions. In this way, of the distant territories, no portion, except Gujrat and Deogir, remained in the Sultān's possession. Dangers and rebellions occurred on every side. The Sultān became still more enraged at this, and ordered the people to be punished. The latter, hearing of the Sultān's severity, felt greater hatred toward him and this gave rise to more disturbances and insurrections.

The Sultān, however, went on devoting his attention to the extension of cultivation, and to foster the prosperity of the country; but owing to the scarcity of the rains, his endeavours were of little avail. At last he found it necessary to order that the gates of the city should be opened and the people who had been kept there, with force and violence, should be allowed to go where they pleased. Many of these people migrated, with their families and dependants,

towards Bangālah and the neighbouring country. The Sultān also left the capital, and passing Patiūli and Kampilah took up his residence on the bank of the Ganges. He ordered that people should erect huts there and live in them. The place was called Sargdwārī. Grain was brought there from Karah and Audh and was cheaper there than in the capital. ‘Ainul-Mulk who held the fiefs of Audh and Zafarābād, and resided there with his brothers, regularly sent to Sargdwārī, grain and piece-goods, and everything else that was necessary. During the time that the Sultān remained at Sargdwārī, he sent for the latter’s service eighty lakhs of tangāhs worth of cash and grain and various kinds of things. The Sultān had great confidence in him, and implicit trust in his capacity and good management.

Four insurrections took place during the time that the Sultān was at Sargdwārī, but were quickly put down. The first was the disturbance created by Nizām Mābīn in Karah. This Nizām Mābīn was a contemptible fellow, a man who talked and acted foolishly, and was of no position and status, who revolted because he could not fulfil the terms under which he held his fief, and who assuming the royal canopy, took the title of Sultān ‘Ala-uddīn.

Before Sultān Muhammad could undertake his destruction, ‘Ainul-Mulk with his brothers attacked and seized him and after having him slayed sent his head to the Sultān. The fiefs of the rebel were allotted to Shaikh-Zādah Bastāmi, in whose house the sister of the Sultān was, and the task of the punishment of the men who had joined him in creating the disturbance was entrusted to the Shaikh-zādah; and he suppressed the insurrection. The next rebellion was that of Shihāb-i-Sultānī who bore the title of Nasrat Khān. He had accepted the fief of the entire territory of Bidar on condition of paying a hundred lakhs of tangāhs, but being unable to pay it, revolted and betook himself to the fort of Bidar. Kutlak Khān was deputed from Deogīr against him, and other noblemen were sent from Dehli to co-operate with him. Kutlak Khān besieged the fort of Bidar and having compelled Shihāb-i-Sultānī to capitulate on certain terms, sent him to attend on the Sultān. This rebellion was also thus put down. A month had not however yet elapsed after this, when ‘Ali Shāh, the nephew (sister’s son) of Zafar Khān, who was an Amīr Sadah and had been sent from Deogīr to Gulbargah to collect the

revenue, finding that place denuded of officers treacherously slew Baharan, the ruler of Gulbargah ; and having plundered his property, went to Bidar, and having slain the deputy of that place also, took possession of it. Sultān Muhammad sent Kutluk Khān to destroy him ; and some of the nobles of Dehli and the troops of Dhār were ordered to accompany him. 'Ali Shāh advanced to meet Kutluk Khān, and giving battle was routed. He then took shelter in the citadel of Bidar and Kutluk Khān offered him terms, and he and his brothers having come out of the fort were sent to the Sultān in Sargdwārī. The Sultān sent 'Ali Shāh and his brothers to Ghaznīn, and when they came back from Ghaznīn he had both brothers executed.

After this, Sultān Muhammad wanted to place the affairs of Deogīr under the charge of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, and he sent for Kutluk Khān from that place. Before this a number of writers, who had been accused of embezzlement in Dehli, and had been ordered to be punished, had left Dehli under the pretext of dearness of grain there ; and had gone to Audh, and Zafarābād ; and thrown themselves under the protection of 'Ain-ul-Mulk and his brothers. This had excited the anger of the Sultān, but he had considered it inexpedient to show it. 'Ain-ul-Mulk had, however, become cognizant of the change in the Sultān's disposition towards him ; and had taken alarm. At the time when the affairs of Deogīr were placed under his charge, and he was ordered to go there with his retainers and dependants, he considered this to be the outcome of the cunning and treachery of the Sultān ; and endeavoured therefore to safeguard his own interests. In compliance with the orders of the Sultān, he summoned his brothers and troops from Audh and Zafarābād, and while they were on the march, he suddenly left Sargdwārī one night and joined them. He then raised the standard of hostility, and his brothers having arrived in the neighbourhood of Sargdwārī, at the head of four thousand horsemen, they drove the elephants and the horses belonging to the Sultān which were grazing in the fields in that vicinity before them, and took them away to their own camping ground. The Sultān in great perplexity summoned the armies of Sāmānah and Amrohā and Baran and Kol. Ahmad Ayāz also arrived at the head of the Dehli army. The Sultān having then arranged all his troops advanced towards Kanouj, and encamped in

the vicinity of that city. 'Ain-ul-Mulk and his troops also encamped in front of him.

Verse.

The roars of the raging elopphants, so fierce,
 Broke the knots in the throats of the lions bold.¹
 Father with son was in dreadful deadly feud ;
 'Twas all mere form ; all love from the earth was fled.

Then crossing the Ganges at the ferry of Bāngar Mau they engaged in battle and were defeated. 'Ain-ul-Mulk was taken prisoner, and his two brothers were killed. A number of his soldiers fell in the battle, and those who escaped the sword, were drowned in the Ganges. The few that succeeded in crossing the river, fell into the hands of the Hindus, in the territories held by them, and were put to death. When they brought 'Ain-ul-Mulk to the Sultān, the latter declared that he was not to blame in any way. It was his men who had led him astray. He ordered 'Ain-ul-Mulk to be brought before him, encouraged him and honoured him with a robe of honour. He also entrusted him with the discharge of certain high affairs and pardoned his sons, and all his dependants and adherents.

The Sultān went from Bāngar Mau to Bahraieh, and made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Sipah Sālār Mas'ud Shahīd, who was a relative of Sultān Mahmud of Ghaznīn ; and bestowed large sums in alms to the attendants of the tomb of that personage, and the Fakīrs who were resident there. He sent Ahmad Ayāz to Bahraieh, that he might station himself on the road to Lakhnauti, and might prevent the fugitives from 'Ain-ul-Mulk's army escaping to that place ; and that he might also send the others who had left Dehli, on account of the famine, or through fear of the Sultan's vengeance, and had settled in Audh and Zafarābād, to their native districts. He then came from Bahraieh to Dehli. Ahmad Ayāz also joined him there, after performing the duties entrusted to him.

As an idea had taken root in the Sultan's mind, that it was improper to rule his empire without the sanction of the Abbāsī-

¹ It is difficult to imagine the curious phenomenon of natural history described in the first two lines. The meaning of the last line is also obscure ; one MS. has *جہ* instead of *جہو* which would mean perhaps that the sea was raging tumultuously.

Caliph, and in fact that such a thing was entirely against the law of the prophet, he made enquiries about the existence of any Caliphs of that line. He was, at last, informed that a Caliph of that line was seated on the seat of the Caliph in Egypt. Acting under the advice of Kamāl-ul-Mulk, he rendered homage to that Caliph in his absence; and for two or three months sent messages and representations to him, and explained his feelings of reverence and homage. He also directed that the Friday prayers and those of the 'Id should be discontinued in the city; and likewise directed, that the name of the Caliph should be impressed on the coin in place of his own name. At last in the year 744 A.H. Hāji Sa'id Sarzari came from Egypt to Dehli and brought to the Sultān a *farmān* sanctioning his rule, and promising him support, and a robe of honour. The Sultān went forward to meet and welcome him, attended by all the nobles, and learned men, and Shaikhs. When the two parties approached each other, the Sultān dismounted, placed the Caliph's *farmān* on his head, imprinted kisses on the feet of Sa'id Sarzari, showed great respect for him, and accompanied the procession on foot. He directed that domes should be erected in the city, and heaped gold on the Caliph's *farmān*. He also gave orders for the performance of Friday prayers, and those of the 'Ids which had been discontinued. The *Khutbah* was ordered to be read in the Caliph's name, and he ordered that the names of the kings who had had no authority from the Abbāsī Caliphs should be removed from it. He ordered the name of the Caliph to be inserted in gold-embroidered garments and in the architraves of edifices. After the arrival of Hāji Sa'id Sarzari the Sultān ordered that a memorial should be written, and he sent it with Hāji Rajab Bark'at with such a precious jewel, that there was not another like it in the treasury, with other gifts and presents, for the Caliph's acceptance. He included in the tribute, Malik Kabir, the chief of his guards, who was one of his slaves, and had no equal in the beauty of his morals, the soundness of his wisdom, as well as in piety, bravery and loyalty, and than whom he had no more favoured servant; and made him part and parcel of the Caliph's property. He got a memorial executed by Malik Kabir, containing a stipulation that he would serve the Caliph, and sent it with Hāji Rajab Bark'at to the Caliph. He also gave him the title of Malik Kabir Khalifi. After two years Hāji

najab Bark'at came a second time to the Sultān accompanied by the Shaikh-ush-Shaiūkh of Egypt and bringing a *farmān* by which the Sultān was declared to be the deputy of the Caliph, a special robe of honour, and the standard of the Amīr-ul-Ma'mūnin. The Sultān went out to welcome them, with all his nobles and great officers, and as he got near them, he dismounted, and placing the *farmān* on his head walked from the gate to the inside of the Kiosk. He directed the nobles to make obeisance to the *farmān*; and always kept the Kūrān, the Hadis and this *farmān* before him. He received the homage of the people in the name of the Caliph, and every order and *farmān* which he issued, he declared to be issued on the authority of the latter; and he said that the commander of the faithful had ordered this or directed that. After some time he granted permission to the Shaikh-ush-Shaiūkh of Egypt to depart, after conferring many rewards and honours on him. He also sent much wealth and many precious gems for the acceptance of the Caliph by the hand of the Shaikh-ush-Shaiūkh, who went away by sea. On two occasions after this, the Caliph's *farmāns* came to the Sultān at Broach and Kanbayāt, and on both occasions he received them with great reverence and honour, and followed the practice of making gifts and offerings. When the Mukhḍūm-Zādah of Baghdād came to the Sultān, the latter went as far as the town of Pālam, which is five karohs from Delhi, to meet him, and he conferred on him as a mark of his favour, one lakh of tangahs, one parganah, and the Kiosk of Sirī, and all the revenue of the land appertaining to it, and other reservoirs and gardens. Whenever the Mukhḍūm Zādah came to wait on the Sultān, the latter came down from the throne, and advanced a few steps to meet him, and made him sit down on the throne, beside himself, and sat in his presence with great respect and decorum.

After the Sultān had obtained the *farmān* of the Abbāsī Caliph, and had thus, in his opinion, acquired a good title to the throne, he went on with the work of the government with great firmness and eclat. After taking up his residence in Sargdwārī he again devoted himself to the task of increasing the wealth of the country and of extending the cultivation. He framed some new rules in connection with this. Every expedient which occurred to him, in connection with the extension of cultivation, he called an *ashub*

(regulation). He established a separate department which he called the Amīr Goī department. None of the regulations was however of any avail, or resulted in any improvements. Among other things he ordered that the whole country should be divided into circles of thirty karohs; and that in these circles, all the uncultivated lands should be brought under cultivation, and where they were already under cultivation, more valuable crops should be grown than before. About a hundred shikdārs or superintendents were appointed to see this carried out. Many people who were hungry and in great distress, and many others who were greedy and avaricious did not think what the ultimate effect of their acts would be, but went and took the land and also obtained large sums in the shape of advances and rewards. They spent these sums in supplying their immediate needs, and then waited in expectation of the punishment which they knew would follow. In the course of two years eighty and odd lakhs of tangahs were disbursed from the treasury for this purpose. If the Sultān had returned alive from the expedition to Thathah he would not have left a single superintendent, or other officer employed in this work, alive.

Another measure which the Sultān undertook, while he was at Sargdwāri, was the dismissal of old officers and the appointment of new ones. As it was reported to the Sultān, that the provinces of Marhat and Deogīr had been ruined and desolated by the embezzlements and the oppressions committed by the men employed by Kutluk Khān, and their revenue had been reduced to a tenth of what it had been before, the Sultān [newly] assessed the revenue of Marhat at seven karors, and dividing it into four parts, appointed Surur-ul-Mulk, Makhlis-ul-Mulk, Yusuf Baghrā and Aziz Khamār as the four divisional governors. He conferred the appointment of the Vazir of Deogīr on 'Imad-ul-Mulk, Sarir Sultānī; and that of the Naib Vazir on Dhārāohar,¹ who had been in charge of the agricultural advances, and the carrying out of the agricultural regulations. He summoned Kutluk Khān with his dependants and adherents from Deogīr. The people of the place were, however, pained and distressed at his departure, inasmuch as the severity of the Sultān

¹ This name is given as Anbaohar in the lith. ed., but in the MSS. it is written as Dhārāohar.

hæł overwhelmed all the country, but the people of Deogīr had remained safe, under the shadow of K̄utluḡ K̄hān's protection, and were happy and contented with the kind treatment he accorded them. Manlānā Nizāmuddīn, who was at Broach, was ordered to go to Deogīr, and to take charge of the administration; and the management of affairs there, pending the arrival of some other officers. The Sultān directed that the revenue which had been collected by K̄utluḡ K̄hān, and had been amassed there, as it could not be brought to Delhi, on account of the insecurity of the road, should be kept at Dhārāgarh, which was another name for the citadel of Daulatābād, and was a strong fort. After K̄utluḡ K̄hān had arrived at Delhi, the Sultān sent 'Aziz Khamār, who belonged to the meaner classes, to govern Malwah. At the time of sending him off, the Sultān gave certain directions to him. Among these, he said, 'I hear that every disturbance, which occurs in any province is caused by its Amīr Sadahs, who support all the turbulent people; and in this way, become the source of all insurrections. If you find any of them to be evil disposed, and to be inclined to create disturbances, you should at once have them executed.' When 'Aziz Khamār reached the territory of Dhār, and took up the administration of affairs there, he caused eighty and odd of the leaders of the Amīrs Sadah of the province to be seized and beheaded, without proper enquiry and deliberation. He did not consider that the Amīrs Sadah of Gujrat, the Dakin, and other provinces would become frightened and cause various disturbances. At that period the Yuzbāshis were called Amīrs Sadah. When 'Aziz Khamār wrote an account of his proceedings and submitted it to the Sultān, the latter was delighted and sent a *farmān* expressive of his appreciation, and a special robe of honour. He also directed the nobles that they should write laudatory epistles to him, and send him horses and robes of honour. The Sultān thus honoured this 'Aziz Khamār and a few others, who belonged to the lowest classes, and gave them rank higher than that of most of the nobles. For instance, he entrusted the provinces of Gujrat, Multān and Badāūn to 'Bahnā the son of a musician. The office of Vazīr was entrusted

1 The name is given in the lith. ed. as in the text. In the three MSS. it is written as Bakhshūi, Subhūnī and Eknūi.

to the son of a gardener, who was one of the lowest of men. Fīrūz the barber and Makka the tobacco seller, sons of a gardener, and Shaikh Babu, and Manik the son of a Julāha were honoured by being allowed proximity to the Sultān's person. He also bestowed high appointments and large fiefs on them. He entrusted the office of the Vazīr of Gujrat to a slave of Ahmad Āyāz, named Maḡbil, who both in person and in mind was the most despicable of men. The Sultān vainly imagined that if he raised men, who were low and wretched, they knowing that they had been raised from the dust, and had been cherished by him, would not stray from the path of loyalty; but he did not consider that the base could never change their nature, and the proper performance of the work of an empire cannot be expected from them. He was oblivious of the truthful saying :

Couplets.

To raise the heads of the wicked and the base,
To hope for good from such as these,
Is to lose the clue to fortune high ;
Is but to cherish a serpent in thy breast.

When the news of 'Azīz Khamār's abominable deed reached the ears of the Amīrs Sadah of the different provinces, they collected their forces and waited for a fit time and opportunity.

At this time Malik Maḡbil the Naīb of Gujrat was coming to Dehli by way of Deoli and Baroda with the revenue which he had collected, and the horses belonging to the royal stables and other valuables. The Amīr Sadahs of Gujrat pillaged everything, and also the goods and merchandise of merchants who were travelling under his escort. Malik Maḡbil lost everything, and went alone to Nahrwāla. The Sultān was incensed on hearing this and determined to march in person to Gujrat. Although Kutluk Khān pointed out to him that the rebellion of the Amīr Sadahs of Deoli and Baroda was not of such magnitude as to require the presence of the Sultān to quell it, his representation had no effect. Zia-i-Barni, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Firozshāhi*, says, that Kutluk Khān sent the message through him, and represented that by the grace of the Sultān, he had so many retainers and troops, that he could undertake the suppression of this insurrection; and that the Sultān's

going in person might be the cause of other disturbances and calamities, in other parts of the country.

Couplet.

The Sultān's steps, if like the sun, it moves about :
Wherever it comes, it destruction brings.

The Sultān did not acquiesce in his prayer, and ordered that an army should be equipped. He left Malik Firoz, his cousin, as the Regent at Dehli, during his absence, in conjunction with Malik Kabir Ahmad Āyāz. He then started from Dehli, and encamping at Sultānpur, fifteen karos from the capital, began to collect troops. A representation from 'Azīz Khamār reached him there. He submitted that as the Amīr Sadahs of Deoli and Baroda had created the disturbance, and he was close to them, he had equipped the troops at Dhār and was starting against them. The Sultān felt some anxiety about him, and said, " 'Azīz Khamār is ignorant of the methods of warfare. It is quite likely that he will lose his life." Immediately after this, news came that when 'Azīz Khamār came in front of the insurgents, he lost all power over his limbs, and fell off from his horse, and the rebels slew him with ignominy. The Sultān then started from Sultānpur. Zia-i-Barni has narrated that at the time of starting for Gujrāt, the Sultān told him that although people had said that insurrections had been caused by his severity, he had determined not to change his methods for anything that they might say, and for any frequency in insurrections. He then said, Zia Barni proceeds, " You have read history and you can tell me under what circumstances kings should inflict severe punishment." In reply I humbly submitted that it was mentioned in the Tarikh Kibra that there were seven classes of offences which required severe sentences, viz. (1) perversion from the true faith, (2) deliberate murder, (3) adultery by a man whose wife was living, with a woman whose husband was also living, (4) treason against the sovereign, (5) heading an insurrection and attempting to cause a revolution, (6) siding with the enemies of the sovereign and helping and aiding them by supplying intelligence and weapons, and (7) disobeying the orders of the sovereign and treating them with contumely. After this the Sultān enquired, in which of these cases is the punishment

authorized by *hadis* (the traditionary sayings of the prophet); and respectfully submitted that of the seven classes of offence three are mentioned in *hadis*, viz. perversion from the true faith, murder of a Musulman, and adultery; and the other four have been included by kings for the proper government of their realms. The Sultān said, "In early times men were truthful in words and deeds; but now owing to the corruption of morals, I find severe punishments indispensable, in order to keep the people in the right path; and to prevent their becoming turbulent and rebellious; so that I may remain safe in their midst. Besides I have no wise minister, one who could administer the country wisely and well; so that there may be no necessity for bloodshed."

When the Sultān reached Mount Abhu, which is on the boundary of Gujrāt, he nominated one of the Amīrs to take the field against the insurgents. The latter fought, and being defeated, fled in the direction of Deogīr. The Sultān came from Abhu to Baroch, and sent Malik Ḳābul, the Naib Vazīr of the empire, with the Amīr Sadahs, in pursuit of the insurgents. Malik Ḳābul overtook them on the bank of the Narbadā and slew most of them; and seized their children and dependants. Those who escaped with their lives, went to Māndeo, ruler of Mount Salīr Mulīr. The latter plundered and ravaged them, and the disturbances then completely subsided. Malik Ḳābul remained under the Sultān's orders, for a few days, on the banks of the Narbadā and had most of the Amīr Sadahs of Baroch put to death. The few that escaped with their lives, became wanderers on the face of the earth. The Sultān remained for a few days at Baroch, and after much enquiry, recovered the revenues of Baroch and Kambayat and the entire province of Gujrāt which had been pillaged, and which could still be found in the possession of the plunderers, and placed it in the treasury. He also ordered those, who were in any way connected with the insurrection, to be executed. He deputed Zin Bandah who bore the title of Majduddīn, and the son of Rukn Tānessari, who were two of the most wicked men of the age, to Deogīr, so that they might seize the insurgents of the place, and have them executed. The entire population of the country, who had heard of the severity of the Sultān, were panic struck, and in the greatest perplexity. The Sultān sent other Amīrs, after these, to Deogīr; and sent an order to

Maulānā Nizām, the brother of K̲utluḡ K̲hān, that he should collect fifteen hundred horsemen, and send these with the notable Amīr Sadahs of the country with these two Amīrs to the court. Maulānā Nizām in compliance with the order sent fifteen hundred horsemen with the Amīr Sadahs of the neighbourhood, to the Sultān. At the first halting place, however, the Amīr Sadahs and the horsemen, owing to the fear and suspicion which they felt, combined together, killed the two Amīrs and imprisoned Maulānā Nizām and beheaded the officers who were stationed at Deogīr by order of the Sultān. They cut the son of Ruknuddīn Tānessari to pieces; took possession of the treasure which was in Dhārāgarh, and placed Malik Makh, brother of Malik Mal Afghān, on the throne. They divided the treasure among the horsemen and foot soldiers, and apportioned the country of Marhat among the insurgents. The officers and adherents of Malik Makh Afghān and the Amīr Sadahs of Deoli and Baroda all collected together at Deogīr, and the people of the country united with them. When the Sultān heard this, he came from Baroch to Deogīr by continuous marches. The insurgents met him, were defeated, and most of them were slain. Makh Afghān, who was the chief of the insurgents, fortified himself with his adherents and officers in the citadel of Dhārāgarh. Hasan Kānku and the brothers of Makh Afghān fled in the direction of Gulbargah; and the people of Deogīr, high and low, were plundered. Sultān Muhammad sent 'Imād-ul-Mulk Sarteẓ Sultānī, with other nobles, to Gulbargah, so that they might bring that province under subjection, and put any of the fugitive insurgents, whom they might seize, to the sword. He sent many of the residents of Deogīr with Nauroz Kārkun towards Dehli. A gazette announcing the victory was sent; and was read from the pulpits in Dehli, where they beat the drum of joy. The Sultān then occupied himself with the ordering of the affairs of Deogīr and Marhat; but he had not finished attending to them, when news came that Taghī, who was a treacherous slave of his, but was noted for his daring and bravery, had placed the mark of treason on his forehead and had raised the standard of hostility; that he had got the Amīr Sadahs and the Zamindars of Gujrāt to join him; and, coming into Nahrwālā, had put Malik Muzaffar, the deputy of Sheikh Mūizzuddīn, to death; had imprisoned Sheikh Mūizzuddīn himself and other officers; and had then marched from

Nahrwālā to Kambāyat with a large force; had ravaged that country, and had then gone to Baroch, and was at the time besieging the fort there. When the Sultān heard this, he left Khudā-wand-Zādah Kawām-ud-dīn, Malik Jowhar, Sheikh Burhān Balārāmī and Zahīr-uj-jaiūsh, with a large body of troops, in Deogīr; and started for Baroch with great speed. He took with him all the residents of Deogīr that were still left there; and when he reached Baroch, he encamped on the bank of the Narbadā. Taghī then abandoned Baroch and went to Kambāyat. The Sultān despatched Malik Yusuf Baghrā, with a large force, in pursuit of him. When Malik Yusuf reached Kambāyat, Taghī confronted him, and gave battle, and Malik Yusuf Baghrā and some of the notables who were with him were killed; and the remnant of his army fled, and came to the Sultān at Baroch. Taghī ordered Sheikh Muizuddīn and the other officers whom he had imprisoned to be put to death. The Sultān immediately crossed the Narbadā, and started towards Kambāyat. Taghī fled from Kambāyat to Āsāwal, and when the Sultān approached that place, he fled to Nahrwālā. The Sultān halted for a month at Āsāwal owing to the continuous rain. At this time, intelligence came that Taghī was marching from Nahrwālā, in the direction of Āsāwal, and had halted at Gari. The Sultān started immediately from Āsāwal in the midst of the rains, and came to Gari. When Taghī and his soldiers saw that the Sultan's army had arrived, they made themselves drunk, and, in the manner of men who had determined to sell their lives dear, attacked the centre of the Sultān's army. Their progress was however barred by the elephants, and they could not do anything, and were forced to turn back and to take refuge among some trees which grew in the neighbourhood in large numbers; and from there they fled to Nahrwālā. Five hundred of the insurgents, who were at the rear of Taghī's army, were captured alive and were put to the sword.

Sultān Muhammad then sent the son of Malik Yusuf Baghrā Khān, in the direction of Nahrwālā, in pursuit of Taghī. When night came on, the son of Malik Yusuf halted on the way. Taghī brought his family and dependants, and those of the other rebels, from Nahrwālā, and crossing the Rann, went to Kant in Kach; and after halting there for some days fled to Thatha. The Sultān arrived at Nahrwālā three days later, and halted on the bank of the

reservoir of Sabhalsang, and occupied himself with the affairs of the province of Gujrat. The headmen and Rāys of the province came to him from all sides, brought him tribute and were rewarded with robes of honour and other favours. The disorder and disturbances which had distracted the province were all removed by the Sultān's care and exertions. Some of the notables of Taghī's army had separated from him, and had taken refuge with Rana Mandal Siri. The latter had them executed and sent their heads to the Sultān.

The Sultān was still engaged with the management of the affairs of Gujrāt, when intelligence came that Hasan Kānku and other insurgents, who had before this been defeated at Deogīr and had dispersed, had again collected together, and had killed Imad-ul-Mulk Sartezi Sultānī, and had routed and dispersed the army under his command; and that Khudāwand-Zādah Kawāmuddīn, Malik Jauhar and Zahīr-uj-jaiūsh had gone away from Deogīr in the direction of Dhārāgarh; and Hasan Kānku had come to Deogīr, had assumed the royal canopy, and had taken the title of Sultān 'Alauddīn. The troops that were entrusted with the defence of the fort of Dhārāgarh, had also joined him, and thus a great rebellion was afoot. When the Sultān heard this, he was bewildered, and overwhelmed with sorrow. After much consideration, he came to the conclusion that all these disturbances were due to the severity and the frequency of the punishments inflicted by him, and during the few days he remained at Nahrwālā, he, in a manner, withheld his hand from further punishments.

Verse.

If thou art weak, thy foes grow bold,
If too severe, they turn to bay;
Be like a surgeon, soft and hard by turns;
He cuts, and with an unguent soothes.

At this time the Sultān summoned Malik Firoz, Ahmad Āyāz, Malik Ghaznīn. Amīr Qatlā, and Sadr Jahan from Dehli, with their troops, that he might send them against Hasan Kānku, and they arrived with a large body of troops; but as intelligence came in rapid succession, that an immense host had collected round Hasan Kānku, the Sultān delayed sending them; and resolved, that after

freeing his mind from all anxiety, by settling the affairs of C and the capture of Karnāl, which is commonly known as Junāgarh, he would himself proceed to crush Hasan Kānku. For this reason, he remained two years in Gujrāt. In the first year, he directed his attention to the affairs of the province, and to the equipment of his army. During the second year, he occupied himself with the capture of the fort of Junāgarh. After he had taken possession of the citadel of Karnāl, with its dependencies, the headmen and Rays of the neighbourhood all submitted to him and rendered him homage. Kankār, the ruler of the territory of Kach, also came and tendered his submission.

Zia-i-Barni says, that at this time the Sultān told him, "My dominions have fallen a prey to various diseases. If I attend to one of these, another makes head. As thou hast read and studied historical works does any remedy suggest itself to your mind for this state of things?" He submitted humbly, "It has come to my notice that when the people of a country felt a hatred for their ruler; and many disturbances occurred in consequence, such a ruler abdicated in favour of a son or a brother, who was fitted to rule the country, and himself retired into obscurity. Others have considered the removal of the officers who were the cause of the unpopularity the proper remedy for such a disease." The Sultān said, in reply, "I have no son or other heir who can take my place; and I am determined not to relax the severity of my punishments. Let whatever is to happen, happen."

At Gondal, which is fifteen karohs from Karnāl, the Sultān fell ill. Before his arrival there he had, owing to the death of Malik Kabir at Delhi, sent Ahmad Ayāz and Malik Kabul, the deputy Vazir of the empire, to the capital and had summoned the Khudā-wand-Zādah and the Mahdum-Zādah and other notables from Delhi to Gondal. When the Sultān reached Gondal, all these persons arrived there, with the ladies of the *haram*, and a large retinue. An immense host was thus assembled round the Sultān. The army had in the meantime been well equipped, and the Sultān had recovered from his illness. After this, he sent for boats from Dipālpūr, Multān, Uchh and Sewistān and directed that they should be all collected at Turtha, and started from Gondal; and arriving on the bank of the river, crossed it with his army and elephants and

ped on the bank. At this time, Altūn Bahādur, who had come with five thousand Mughals from Amīr Kāzghān, joined the Sultān. The latter showed great favour and kindness to him and his soldiers. He then started towards Thatha in order to destroy the tribe known as the Somra, and the wretch Taghī who had taken shelter with them. When he arrived at a distance of thirty karohs from Thatha, it was the tenth day of the Muharram. He fasted and at the time of breaking it ate some fish. There was a relapse of the fever, from which he had been suffering. In spite of this, he embarked in a boat and proceeded to a place fourteen karohs from Thatha; but owing to the severity of the illness he found it necessary to stop there. Day after day, the disease increased till the 21st Muharram 752 A.H., when he died. He had reigned for a period of twenty eight years. Zia-i-Barni wrote the following elegy on him, in his history :—

Verse.

With poison is the draught of the world embittered !
 All fruit is poison to Adam's children, here !
 Oh friend of nothingness ! do thou desist ;
 Talk less of this wretched and worthless world ;
 The dawn of judgment grows ! and we asleep !
 Wake up the slumberers of the earth !
 What beautiful carpet, the morning breeze did spread !
 Alas ! roll that bed of joyance away !
 The day of destruction's come ! arise and break
 The arch, and cleave the palace roof asunder !
 Shah Muhammad in the dust of death doth sleep ;
 Encase thyself in the azure robe of grief !
 The cry of grief sounds loud in all the world,
 Tear, tear, this bright and shining garment, tear !

SULTAN FIROZ SHAH.

He was the nephew (brother's son) of Sultān Ghiāsuddīn Tughlaq Shāh. When the illness of Sultān Muḥammād Tughlaq Shāh was prolonged, in the camp at Siwistān, and the time of his death drew near, Malik Firoz, the Naib or deputy, who was the son of his uncle, and in respect of whose right to succeed him the Sultān felt a righteous solicitude, fulfilled the requirements of gratitude and love

in the matter of the latter's medical treatment. Under these circumstances the Sultān's favour and kindness towards him was increased a thousand fold. When the Sultān saw that his end was near, he directed that Malik Firoz should succeed him. He said :

Couplet.

Oh flourish thou, and prosper in thy rule !
For ah ! my head vacates the cushion now !

When the Sultān died, in the neighbourhood of Thatha, indescribable confusion overtook the army. Malik Firoz Barbak considered it advisable that he should, by any pretext which he could think of, separate the three (five ?) thousand Mughal horsemen, whom Amīr Kazghān had sent to assist Sultān Muhammad, from the main army, so that it might be saved from their depredations. He therefore conferred rewards and robes and garments on the chiefs of that body as well as on the other horsemen, and gave them permission to return to their own country ; and also directed that they should at once separate themselves from the rest of the army and encamp at a distance from it. In these circumstances, two days after Sultān Muhammad's death, when the army was in great confusion and distress from the fear of the ravages and the attacks of the Mughals, Nauroz Gurgin, the son-in-law of Barmah Shīrīn, who had been brought up by Sultān Muhammad, ungratefully joined the Mughals ; and incited the latter to stretch their hands to ravage, and to begin to seize and plunder the troops, just at the time when they would begin their march ; and when there would be great disorder and confusion in the camp. Much property was plundered and many of the women and children were seized that day by the Mughals and the scum of the people of Thatha. The soldiers spent that day in unspeakable anxiety and fear. The next day the troops were arranged with great care, and began their march. This day also, the Mughals and the marauders of Thatha went on ravaging and plundering. At last the army reached the bank of the river, and encamped there. They were like sheep without a shepherd and were being slaughtered and destroyed. Then, Mukhdum-Zādah Abbasi, and Shaikh Nasiruddin Muhammad Audhi, who was celebrated as the Lamp of Dohli, and was the successor of Shaikh

ayyāmuddīn Auliā, and the learned men, and Shaikhs, and Maliks, and Amīrs assembled together, and begged Malik Firoz Bārbak that he should ascend the throne.

Verse.

The soldiers all did kiss the ground,
Where the Sultān set his auspicious foot ;
Where he did step, they placed their heads ;
With his commands, they crowned themselves ;
If he to fire and water did their place convert,
Still their hearts from him did not turn.

Malik Firoz expressed a desire for travelling in the Hejaz, and of performing a pilgrimage to the holy places, and begged to be excused ; but at last at the entreaty of high and low, he ascended the imperial throne, on the 24th Muharram, in the year 752 A.H., and ransomed so many thousand people who were in the clutches of the marauders. On the third day after that, they mounted with such discipline and in such order, that whenever the Mughals and the marauders of Thatta attempted to attack them from any side, they were themselves seized and became prisoners ; and in this way the trouble which they had up to that time caused, ceased.

Verse.

When's royal canopy like the phoenix spread its wing !
No owl could have the hardihood to play the hawk.
So peaceful did the breath of his greatness make the world,
That e'en the things at war did hold communion sweet.

The people, both gentle and simple, received many royal benefactions in the first year after the accession of Sultān Firoz Shāh. After a time, they arrived, by continuous marches, at Siwistān, and there the Amīrs, Maliks, Shaikhs and the commanders of the army were rewarded with gifts of horses, robes of honour, swords, and girdles. The people of Siwistān were also honoured with rewards and gratuities. From that place the army started for Hindustān, and in every city and village to which they came the hearts of the people were gladdened with presents and pensions.

Couplets.

With care, he went into the depths of things;
 With gifts, he supplied the wants of all;
 His treasures made all men so rich;
 His troops, with labour, bore his gems.

At this very time, news came of the hostility of Malik Ahmad Āyāz, who bore the title of Khawājah-i-Jahān, and was one of the trusted servants of Sultān Muhammad Shāh, who had left him to act as Regent at Dehli, during his absence. It appeared that he had placed a boy of unknown birth on the throne, describing him as a son of Sultān Muhammad Shāh; and had given him the designation of Sultān Ghiāsuddīn Muhammad Shāh; and had constituted himself Regent with absolute power. The Sultān (Firoz Shāh) attributed these abominable proceedings of his to his foolishness and stupidity; issued a decree granting him full pardon; and sent him a message containing much wise advice. Malik Saifuddīn, the superintendent of the elephants, carried this message to Malik Ahmad Ayāz; but he paid no heed to it, and sent a message through a deputation composed of Sayyad Jalāl, Malik Dhilān, Maulānā Najmuddīn Rāzī and Dāūd, his own Maulānā-Zādah, to the effect that the empire was still in the possession of Sultān Muhammad; that he should accept the office of deputy and devote himself with energy to the performance of the affairs of the empire; and that any nobles whom he might select might be joined with him as his colleagues. On the arrival of the deputation, the Sultān convened an assembly; and calling together Shaikh Nasīruddīn Muhammad Audhi, Maulānā Kamāluddīn Audhi, Maulānā Kamāluddīn Sāmānah, Maulānā Shamsuddīn Bākharzī, and other great officers and learned men, placed the whole matter before them; and enquired what their opinion in the matter was; and what, in accordance with the law of the prophet, was his duty. Malik Kamāluddīn said, whoever had undertaken the duties of the empire should go on with them. The Sultān kept the emissaries sent by Ahmad Ayāz under guard, and sent him an epistle containing good advice through Dāūd, his Maulānā-Zādah, who, as already mentioned, was one of the emissaries. When Dāūd arrived, Ahmad Ayāz felt that he would not be able to accomplish his designs, as he saw that most of the nobles,

and specially Malik Naththū the chamberlain, and Malik Hasan Multāni and others like them, who had at first made common cause with him, and taken large sums of money, had started from Dehli to welcome the Sultān, and to join his army.

At this time, news came that Taghī, who had revolted and had gone away to Gujrāt, had been killed there; and on all sides signs of the good fortune of Sultān Firoz Shāh began to appear. Ahmad Ayāz in great distress and anxiety determined to make his submission; and sent Ashraf-ul-Mulk and Malik Khuljīn and Malik Kabir and Hasan Amir-i-Muran to intercede for him. The Sultān pardoned him and directed him to appear before him. Ahmad Ayāz came with his adherents, with their heads hanging down, and uncovered, and their turbans round their necks; and made his obeisance, near Hānsī. The Sultān directed that Ahmad Ayāz should be made over to the Kotwāl of Hānsī and Malik Ghiasuddin Khitāb (i.e. the boy whom Ahmad Ayāz had proclaimed as Sultān—why the word Khitāb is appended to his name is not clear) should be conveyed to Tabarlūdāh; and Shaikh-Zādah Bastāmi should be banished. The tongue of time now spoke according to the purport of the following strophe:—

Verse.

Each one of thy enemies, in a different way, hath time,
In the whirl of utter destruction immersed; one's dead;
And Fate hath cut the throat of one with his poniard sharp;
And one, with all his family in direst ruin's engulfed!

On the 2nd Rajab, in the year 752 A.H., Sultān Firoz Shah ascended the imperial throne at Dehli, with full power and great pomp; and spread the gospel of justice and generosity; and high and low, and in fact all mankind, had all their desires satisfied; and great joy appeared among all the people, both great and small.

Verse.

The king of fortune high, the breaker of his foes!
Under auspicious stars, did on the throne ascend;
His glorious greatness, with success and triumph crowned
Did all the age in newest joy and gladness steep.

On the 5th Safar, in the year 753 A.H., the Sultān marched to ^{the} Sarmur mountains, for a pleasure excursion, and for hunting. Most of the Zamīndārs of the country came, and did homage to him, with the ring of bondage in their ears, and the saddle-cloth of service on their shoulders.

Verse.

What brightness did his grandeur all the earth enease !
 What shouts of joy and triumph did to the sky ascend !
 Was it the dust his army raised, or a breeze from paradise,
 That into men's lives the fragrance of peace instilled !

On Monday, the 3rd Jamādi-ul-Awwal, of the year, the Prince Muhammad Khān was born in Dehli. The Sultān gave great feasts, and conferred rewards and favours on the people. In the following year, 754 A.H., he hunted in Kalānūr and in the skirts of the hills in that neighbourhood. At the time of returning to the capital, he laid the foundations of lofty edifices on the bank of the Sarsuti. He conferred the title of Shaikh-ul-Islām on Shaikh Sadruddīn, son of Shaikh Bahāuddīn Zakariāh. He honoured Malik Ḳabul, who was the deputy Vazīr of the empire, with the title of Khān-i-Jahān, and made him the Vazīr; and bestowed the title of Khudāwand Khān on Khudāwand-Zādah Ḳawāmuddīn, and made him the Vakildar. Malik Tātār became Tātār Khān; and Malik Sharaf, the Naib Vakildar. Saif-ul-Mulk was made the Shikār Beg; and Khudāwand Zādah 'Imad-ul-Mulk, the Silahdār. 'Ain-ul-Mulk received the post of Mustaufi and Musharraf of the Diwān and on Malik Hasan Amīr-i-Mirān was conferred the position of Istifā-i-Kul.

In the month of Shawwāl, in the year 754 A.H., the Sultān left Khān-i-Jahān, with full powers, in the capital, and started with a large army on an expedition to Lakhnauti; so that he might put an end to the tyranny of Ilīās Hājī, who had given himself the title of Sultān Shamsuddīn; and having built a great city at Panduah had extended his rule to the boundary of Benares. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Gorakhpur, Udaya Singh, the headman of that place, came and did homage, and having presented suitable tribute, including two elephants, became the recipient of imperial favour. Ray Kapur, also, paid the tribute of several years, and both of them joined his army. Ilīās Hājī left Panduah, and betook himself

جنگالہ، which was the strongest fort in Bangālāh. The Sultān arrived there on the 7th Rabi'ul-Awwal. The same day there was a great battle; and on the 29th of that month, the Sultān's army left the neighbourhood of the city, and encamped on the bank of the Ganges. On the 5th Rabi'ul-ākhar Ilīās Hājī came out of the fort, with the intention of giving battle; but he made a detour, and fled, and took shelter in the fort again. Forty-four elephants, and his canopy and standard and a quantity of war materials, and many of his retainers, fell into the Sultān's hands; and a large number of his foot soldiers were slain. On the second day after this, the Sultān issued an order for the release of the captives, and on the 27th Rabi'ul-ākhar, owing to the heavy rains, he agreed to a peace; and started on the march back to Dehli. He crossed the Ganges at the ferry at Mānikpur, and on the 12th Sha'bān arrived at Dehli. He then laid the foundation of the city of Firozābād, on the bank of the Jūn (Jumna).

In the year 756 A.H., he went to hunt in the direction of Dibālpur, and excavating a canal from the river Satlad (Sutlej) took it to Jhajhar a distance of 48 karohs. The next year he excavated a canal from the river Jūn, in the vicinity of Mandal and Sarmur; and uniting seven other canals with it, took it as far as Hānsī. From that place he extended it to Alisin, and there laying the foundations of a fort, gave it the name of Hisār Firozā. He then had an extensive reservoir excavated in front of the fort, filled a channel with water from it, and excavated another canal from the Khākhra river, and conducting it past the foot of the fort of Sarsuti, took it to the new canal of Kārah. He erected a fort between these canals, and named it Firozābād. He excavated another canal from the river Budhi, and carried it to the reservoir already mentioned; and further to a point beyond it.

In the month of Zihijeh of the same year, on the day of the 'Id-uz-Zoha, came the *farmān* of Abul Fateh, the Caliph of Egypt, confirming the kingdoms of Hind and Sind on the Sultān. It was accepted by the latter, as a cause of happiness and pride and gratulations. The same year Ilīās Hājī sent fitting tribute, and became the recipient of the imperial favour. At this time the entire country of Hindustān was in the possession of the Sultān except Lakhnauti and the Dakhin; since the death of Sultān Muhammad

Tughlak Shāh, Sultān Shamsuddīn Iliās Hājī was in possession of the former; and Hasan Kānka of the whole of the latter, the Sultān having concluded a treaty with him, on his agreeing to send tribute.

In the year 758 A.H., Zafar Khān Fāzrī came from Sonārgāon with two elephants and attached himself to the court. He was received with favour and received the office of Naib Vazīr. In Zihijeh of the year 759 A.H., the Sultān started towards Sāmānah, and while engaged in hunting there, he received intelligence of a Mughal army, which had come to the vicinity of Lahore, and had returned without any conflict. The Sultān then returned in the direction to Dehli. About the end of that year, Tājuddīn came with other nobles as ambassadors, from Lakhnauti; presented valuable and elegant articles as tribute; and was honoured with the royal favour. The Sultān sent Malik Saifuddīn, the keeper of the royal elephants, with Arabian and Turki horses and other rich presents, in the company of Malik Tājuddīn, to Sultān Shamsuddīn. In the spring, the news came of the death of the latter, and of the succession of his son Sultān Sikandar. Malik Saifuddīn sent a memorial to the Sultān notifying these events. The Sultān ordered that the presents which had been sent for Sultān Shamsuddīn should be brought back; the horses should be made over to the army of Bihār and the ambassadors should be conducted to Karah. After that, in the year 760 A.H., the Sultān marched towards Lakhnauti, leaving Khān-i-Jahān, in Dehli, to act as Regent during his absence. At this time, he appointed Tātār Khān governor of the territory extending from Ghazni to Multān. On the way to Lakhnauti he halted for a few days at Zafarpur on account of the heavy rains. At this time Shaikh-Zādah Bustāmī, who had been banished [from the kingdom], brought a robe of honour from the Caliph of Egypt, and received the title of Ā'azam-ul-Mulk. Sayyad Rasuldār was at the same time sent, with the ambassadors who had come from Lakhnauti, to the court of Sultān Sikandar. The latter sent five elephants to Dehli, with Sayyad Rasuldār, with other valuable and beautiful presents. Before the arrival of Sayyad Rasuldār 'Alam Khān had come as an ambassador from Lakhnauti; and the Sultān started towards Lakhnauti. On the way, he conferred the paraphernalia of state, such as a canopy, a durbāsh, elephants, and a red

vision, on Prince Fateh Khān and directed coins to be struck in his name, and officers to be appointed under him.

When the Sultān arrived at Panduah, Sultān Sikandar took shelter in the fort of Ekdālah. Sultān Firoz encamped in its neighbourhood, and carried on the seige. After a few days, Sultān Sikandar prayed for protection ; and agreed to send a yearly tribute of elephants and other valuables. The Sultān then started on his return journey, on the 20th Jamādi-ul-Awwal of that year. When he arrived at Jaunpur, the rains commenced. He passed the rainy season in that place ; and in the month of Zi-hijjeh of the same year, he started by way of Bihār for Jājnagar which is situated on the border of the country of Karah Katankah. When he reached the last-named place, he left Malik Ḳutbuddīn, the brother of Zafar Khān, with the camp and the army ; and himself hastened forward, with a small retinue. When he arrived at Sankrah Rāi Sārbīn the Rājah of the place fled, and his daughter fell into the Sultān's hands. The latter called her 'daughter,' and protected her. Ahmad Khān who had fled from Lakhnauti, and had taken shelter in the fortress of Ranthambor, came and rendered homage to him on the way, and was dignified and honoured with great favours. When the Sultān crossed the Mahānadi and arrived in the city of Banāras, which was the residence and stronghold of the Rāy of Jājnagar, the latter fled and escaped into Tilang. The Sultān did not pursue him, but commenced to hunt. In the meantime the Rāy sent emissaries and begged for peace. He sent thirty-three elephants, and other valuable and elegant presents. The Sultān at this time returned and proceeded towards Padmāvati, which is a favourite grazing ground of elephants, to hunt for these animals. He caught thirty-three of them alive, and killed two. Ziā-ul-Mulk composed the following quatrain on this subject :—

The Sultān, who with justice, to greatness did attain,
Did like the glorious sun the entire world o'ercrown !
To Jājnagar he came, the elephants to hunt ;
He captured three and thirty, and two he killed.

From that place he came to Karah by successive marches, and in the month of Rajab in the year 772 A.H., he arrived in Dehli.

After some time he rode towards a canal which is called

Aslīmah. This comprises (is formed by the junction of) two perennial streams separated by a lofty dike. The Sultān ordered that fifty thousand beldārs (spademen) should be collected, and directed to dig the canal. Inside the dike very large bones of elephants and men were discovered; for example the bones of a man's arm which was three yards in length. It had become petrified in part, and was still bone in part. At the same time he separated Sarhind which in reality belonged to the revenue division of Sāmānah; and formed the country to a distance of ten karohs from Sarhind into a separate district; and placed it in charge of Ziā-ul-Mulk Shamsuddīn Abū Rajā. He erected a fort there and named it Firozpur. From that place he marched towards Nagarkot. When he reached the skirts of the hills, and people brought him some ice, he said, "When Sultān Muhammad Shāh, on whom be the mercy of God! who was my master, reached this place, and his attendants brought him some iceed sharbat, he did not drink any, as I was not present. He then ordered that a few elephant and camel loads of candy which they had in the camp should be used for making iceed sharbat, to be distributed among the soldiers, in memory of Sultān Muhammad Shāh. The Raja of Nagarkot, after a siege and some fighting, hastened with his sons to do homage to the Sultān; and placed the saddle cloth of service on their shoulders. The Sultān treated him with kindness. He changed the name of Nagarkot, and called

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